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An Ideot holds his Bauble for a God.

Shakspeare

From a Print by Sawerdam after H. Goltzius

When Friars Monks and Priests of former days,
Apocrypha and Scripture turn'd to Plays,
The Festivals of Fools and Asses kept,
Obeyd Boy-Bishops and to crosses crept,
They made the mumming Church the People's rod,
And held the grinning Bauble for a God.

Frontispiece to Rowe on Ancient Customs 1822.

ANCIENT

MYSTERIES

DESCRIBED,

94351

ESPECIALLY THE

English Miracle Plays,

FOUNDED ON

APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT STORY,

EXTANT AMONG THE UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM;

INCLUDING NOTICES OF

ECCLESIASTICAL SHOWS,

THE FESTIVALS OF

FOOLS AND ASSES—THE ENGLISH BOY BISHOP
THE DESCENT INTO HELL—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW
THE GUILDHALL GIANTS—CHRISTMAS CAROLS, &c.

BY WILLIAM HONE.

WITH ENGRAVINGS ON COPPER AND WOOD.

"Is it possible the spells of *Apocrypha* should juggle men into such strange *Mysteries?*" *Shakspeare.*

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR WILLIAM HONE,
45, LUDGATE HILL.
By J. M'Creery, Tooks Court.

1823.

God
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PREFACE.

It is related of Johnson, by his pleasant biographer, that he said, 'he *loved* the old black letter books; they were rich in matter, though their style was inelegant.' Deeper read in our early writers, than the great moralist, an erudite antiquary of our own day * observes, that, 'with respect to what is often absurdly denominated *black letter* learning, the taste which prevails in the present times for this sort of reading, wherever true scholarship and a laudable curiosity are found united, will afford the best reply to the hyper-criticisms and impotent sarcasms of those who, having from indolence or ignorance neglected to cultivate so rich a field of knowledge, exert the whole of their endeavours to depreciate its value.' The truth of this has been subsequently attested by the popularity of the author of Waverley, who, aided by antient lore, imparts to his scenes and portraits of other times the truth and high finish of Gerard Dow and Denner, and the dignity and grace of Titian and Vandyke. Need I apologize then for bringing together the results of recent desultory reading, intimately connected with that class of literature which is especially dear to me from accidental acquaintance with it in childhood, and stolen intima-

* Mr. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. i. pref. xi.

cies, during thirty years of a life spent in 'violating, step after step, the circumscription by which the aristocratic compasses were again and again, with reluctant extension to successive greater distances, defining the scope of the knowledge proper for a man of my condition.'*

A memorable period in my humble existence is the occasion of the ensuing sheets. On the 19th of December 1817, the late Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough observed, that 'the first scenic performances were Mysteries or representations of incidents in Sacred Writ.' The remark induced me, about three years ago, to inquire somewhat on this subject, and in consequence of a perusal, accidentally simultaneous, of the religious Coventry Plays or Mysteries in the British Museum, and certain of the Apocryphal Gospels, together with the possession of engravings by old masters, from scenes common to each, I hastily compiled and published the volume entitled, 'The Apocryphal New Testament.' Though my main purpose in producing it was, that for which I stated it to be of use, namely, to explain the subjects of pictures and prints that 'are without explanation from any other source,'† and notwithstanding I conceived, that so far as the Gospels were concerned, it would be regarded as a work of mere curiosity, yet it was dexterously construed into a cause of attack. The fierceness of the *Quarterly* in October 1821, roused me to answer the assailant, and I sent a sheet of reply to the press in the following month. To accompany it, but

* Foster. † Apoc. N. Test. *Preface.*

as a distinct publication, the ensuing pages from 13 to 68 inclusive, were then actually printed off, and I received a proof from the printer of sixteen pages more to conclude the tract, when abridgment of my leisure, but, above all, the subsidence of my resentment into profound contempt for the flagitious frauds of the reverend reviewer, and a conviction that those who were qualified to judge of his article would see its mendacity, determined me not to engage in polemics. Abandoning the proposed refutation, yet towards the close of last summer recollecting the portion of the Mysteries in the printer's warehouse, I sat down, intending to complete my notices of these curious dramas in a few hours, and within the limits that I originally assigned to myself; the difficulty however of wholly relinquishing my pen, while, by fits and snatches, I could employ it agreeably, enlarged the proposed pamphlet to the present volume.

Concerning the *Coventry Mysteries*, Dugdale relates, in his History of Warwickshire, published in 1656, that 'Before the suppression of the monasteries this city was very famous for the pageants that were play'd therein, upon *Corpus-Christi* Day (one of their ancient faires) which occasioning very great confluence of people thither from far and near, was of no small benefit thereto: which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the Grey Friers, had theatres for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of spectators, and contain'd the story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the old Englishe rithme, as appeareth

by an ancient *MS.* (in Bibl. Cottôn. Vesp. D. VIII.) intituled, *Ludus Corporis Christi*, or *Ludus Coventriæ*. I have been told,' says Dugdale, 'by some old people, who in their younger years were eye-witnesses of these pageants so acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that shew was extraordinary great, and yielded no small advantage to this city'.* The celebrity of the performances may be inferred from the rank of the audiences; for, at the festival of Corpus Christi, in 1483, Richard III. visited Coventry to see the plays, and at the same season in 1492, they were attended by Henry VII. and his queen, by whom they were highly commended.

While at the British Museum I made large extracts from the Coventry Manuscript mentioned by Dugdale. It is remarkable, that in its entire series of forty mysteries there is not one from the Apocrypha to the *Old* Testament, whilst there are so many as eight that are paraphrases of the *New* Testament Apocrypha. Transcripts from these paraphrases compose the early part of the present publication. Some portions that are abridged would have been given entire, perhaps, had I consulted the MS. with a view to this use, but there is quite enough to show how largely the monkish playwright adopted the curious incidents, and the very language of the spurious Gospels—a circumstance alluded to in the Preface to the Apocryphal New Testament, and which operated in no small degree to the setting it forth.

Concerning the scenery, machinery, dresses, and

* Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 116.

decorations, and indeed the stage management of these times, little is at present known.* Yet to what Dugdale has said of the Coventry performances, and the notice from Drake's History of York, of the representations in that city,† may be added an account of those at Chester. The Mysteries acted there, also exist in the British Museum among the Harleian MSS. They are four and twenty in number, and were performed by the trading companies of the city. 'Every company had his pagiante, or parte, which pagiantes were a highe scafolde with two rowmes, a higher and a lower upon 4 wheeles. In the lower they apparelled themselves, in the higher rowme they played, being all open on the tope, that all behoulders might heare and see them. The places where they played them was in every streete. They begane first at the Abay Gates, and when the pagiante was played, it was wheeled to the High Cross before the mayor, and so to every streete; and so every streete had a pagiante playing before them, till all the pagiantes for the daye appointed were played, and when one pagiante was neere ended, worde was broughte from streete to streete, that soe the mighte come in place thereof, exceedinge orderlye, and all the streetes had their pagiante afore them, all at one time, playing together;

* Information on some of these points may be expected from a forthcoming work, by the gentleman mentioned (at p. 218.) as having favoured his friends with a bibliomaniacal edition of the Coventry Pageant of the Sheremen and Taylors. I take this opportunity of observing, that the MS. of this mystery is that gentleman's property; it is erroneously represented hereafter as belonging to the corporation of Coventry.

† See p. 209—13. *post.*

to se which playes was great resorte, and also scafoldes, and stages made in the streetes, in those places wheare they determined to playe their pagiantes.'*

Respecting the multiform portion of this volume, denominated '*Illustrations*,' I have to offer in excuse that there is enough for good-natured readers to find something to be amused with, and nothing intended to offend those that I despair of pleasing. It is altogether 'skimble-skamble stuff,' which, not aspiring to the character of an antiquarian treatise, may be allowed to deprecate antiquarian censure. There is little appearance of cohesion in the parts, and yet they scarcely require more than leisure to adapt and connect them according to 'the rules of the schools,' with a few other particulars, and make a book. The *Boy-Bishop*, for instance, whose processions at Nicholas-tide, according to Strype, 'made the people so fond of keeping this holiday, that every parish almost had its St. Nicholas,' is associated with the Mysteries, by the representations of these religious plays often taking place during his annual dignity. The *Feast of Fools*, and especially the *Feast of the Ass*, from their dramatic character, and celebration as ecclesiastical performances, are equally admissible. To

* Archdeacon Rogers's MSS. Harl. 1948, quoted in Mr. Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, (p. 296—302.) In that work there is a copious notice concerning the Chester Mysteries, which were performed for the last time in 1574. Mr. Ormerod's information concerning Mysteries in general is abundantly curious and useful.

A well written article on the 'Early Drama,' with a pleasant notice of Mysteries, is contained in that ably conducted Journal, the *Retrospective Review*, vol. i.

be sure I have trespassed a little in the articles on the *Council of the Trinity*, and the *Brethren of the Trinity without Aldersgate*; but who, possessing a monkish legend in MS. or the chartulary of a dissolved fraternity, could withstand the temptation of 'hitching into *print*' a quotation or two, on a colourable opportunity. In this, however, I acknowledge being influenced by liking rather than judgment, and so in the article on the *Descent into Hell*. Reviewing my gossip on the word *aroint*, I confess that equity would compel me to dismiss it for impertinence. But it is printed, and its existence in these sheets is a lamentable proof of the 'fearful estate' of him who mounts a hobby without a rein: though there is something like a shadow of excuse, too, for saying a little on old Hearne's plate as a Shakspearian authority.

Concerning *Christmas Carols*, I have not put down a tenth of what I wished to find room for, nor so much as I think will weary one good hearted reader who remembers with what solemn pleasure he heard them sung in his childhood. The *Pageants*, though familiar to a few, will be new to more; and as to the account of the *Lord Mayor's Show*, and the *Giants of London*, let that citizen, who constantly sees both, and knows little regarding the history of either, be angry if he can, for being informed of several curious particulars respecting each. Regarding the Giants, indeed, I formerly inquired too much and too long in vain, to suppose that a few pages, occupied in authenticating their origin, will be unwelcome to those who are 'merry in *Guildhall*, when beards wag all.'

In toiling through books and MSS., not in expec-

tation, but with a bare hope of discovering a few facts respecting manners in the olden time, the mind glooms on the supposition that stores of information perished with the destruction of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. He who 'neither spared man in his rage nor woman in his lust,' spared not the literary collections in the libraries of the church. For though it appears that Henry directed a commission to Leland, the antiquary, to search for and preserve such works belonging to the dissolved monasteries and colleges as might rescue remarkable English events and occurrences from oblivion, and though Leland acquainted Henry that he had 'conserved many good authors the which otherwise had bene lyke to have peryshed, to no small incommodite of good letters; of the which,' he tells him, 'part remayne in the most magnificent lybraryes of your royal palaces; part also remayne in my custodie;' yet he expressly recites, one of his purposes was to expel 'the crafty corruption of a rowt of Romayne bysshopps;' which plainly indicates that he 'conserved' but little concerning ancient customs. Strype, who praises Henry's commission to Leland, afterwards breaks out, saying, 'But great pity it was, and a most irreparable loss, that notwithstanding this provision, most of the ancient MS. histories and writings of learned British and Saxon authors were lost. Libraries were sold by mercenary men for any thing they could get, in that confusion and devastation of religious houses. Bale, the antiquary, makes mention of a merchant that bought two noble libraries about these times for forty shillings; the books whereof

served him for no other use but for waste paper; and that he had been ten years consuming them, and yet there remained still store enough for as many years more. Vast quantities and numbers of these books, banished with the monks and friars from their monasteries, were conveyed away and carried beyond seas to booksellers there, by whole ship ladings; and a great many more were used in shops and kitchens.' It is not surprising then, that so little remains from those immense collections; or rather it is wonderful that so much should have escaped the general devastation. Yet, in the economy of the Reformation, the ruthless deed was, perhaps, an essential preparation for the mighty knowledge that submerged the superstition of a thousand years. 'The papal hierarchy, from accident, fanaticism, and policy, pursued too often a spurious plan of forcing mankind to become technical automatons of rites and dreams, words and superstitions; and supporting a system which, if not originally framed, was at least applied to inforce a long continued exertion of transferring the world into the hands of ecclesiastics, and too often superseding the Christianity of the Gospels by that of tradition, policy, half-delirious bigotry, feelings often fantastic, and unenlightened enthusiasm.' *. Until the time of Luther, religion, which in principle is a pure science, was regarded as an art; it was the occupation of the clergy, who taught it as a mystery, and practised it as a trade.

* Mr. Turner's Hist. Ang. Saxons, vol. iij. p. 516.

From the manifold corruptions of religion resulted the gross practices and delusions which are noticed in the ensuing pages without comment; for the work is a collection of facts, not of inferences. It commences with the Coventry Mysteries; the passages from the Apocryphal Gospels, whereon the scenes are founded, being printed beneath. By referring to the Glossary for words that seem difficult, the perusal of the whole will be easy.

It is proper to state that a literary gentleman of the principality, enabled me to mention Welsh Carols, and favoured me with the translation of the *Welsh Wassail Carol* for St. Mary's Eve. To a bibliopolical friend I am indebted for the notice of the *Castle of Good Preservance*, which he saw in Dr. Macro's collection. I should with equal readiness acknowledge other assistance, had I received it. Lastly, I am bound to confess the existence of a few errors, not affecting the sense, that were discovered too late for correction, though in sufficient time to enable me to affirm, as a warning to others, that the worst editor of an author's writings is himself.

Ludgate Hill,
5th May, 1823.

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MYSTERY I.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT* VIII.

THE BIRTH OF MARY.

THE PLAY commences with the speaking of a *Prologue*, beginning thus:—

Cryste conserve this congregation,
Fro' perellys past, p'sent, and futur,
And the p'so'nys her' pleand.

* * * * *

And that non oblocucyon, make this mat'er obsc'ure,
But it may p'fite and plese, eche p'son p'sent,
From the gynnynge, to the endynge, so to endure,
That cryst, and every creatur', with the conceyte be content.

The Prologue proceeds to relate, that the 'mat'er' is of 'the modyr of mercy.'

In fewe wurdys talkyd, that it shulde nat be ted'yous
To ne lernyd, nyn to lewd, nyn to no man of reson,
This is the p'cesse:—Now p'serve you Jh'us;
Th'for of this I yow pray, all that ben her' present,
And tak hed to our talkyn, what we shal say;
I be teche yow, that lorde that is evyr omnypotent,
To governe yow in goodnes, as he best may,
In hevyn we may hym se.

Now god, that is hevyn kynge,
Sende us all hese der' blyssynge;
And to his tow'r he mote vs brynge:
Amen, ffor charyte.

'YSAKER,' the high priest, announces the festival, when all must repair to Jerusalem to sacrifice.

'JOAKIM' enters with ANNE his wife,(a) and calls himself 'a substancyall man,' says 'he divides his goods into three parts, one to the temple, another to the 'pylg'mys,' the third for his own houshould; and concludes his speech by observing, that

So shulde every curat, in this werde wyde,
Geve a part to his channcel, I wys;
A part to his parocheners, that to povert slyde;
The thyrd part to kepe, for hy' & his.(b)

'JOACHIM tells ANNE that he dreads to sacrifice, for

Be cawse that no frute of vs doth p'cede,
I fere me grettly the prest wole me dysspice;
Than grett slawndyr in the tribus of vs shulde aryse:
But this I avow to God, with all the mekenes I can,

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apocryphal New Testament.]

(a) MARY, i.—1. The blessed and ever glorious Virgin Mary, sprung from the royal race and family of David, was born in the city of Nazareth, and educated at Jerusalem, in the temple of the Lord.

2. Her father's name was Joachim, and her mother's Anna. The family of her father was of Galilee and the city of Nazareth. The family of her mother was of Bethlehem.

(b) 3. Their lives were plain and right in the sight of the Lord, pious and faultless before men. For they divided all their substance into three parts:

4. One of which they devoted to the temple and officers of the temple; another they distributed among strangers, and persons in poor circumstances? and the third they reserved for themselves and the uses of their own family.

7. ¶ And it came to pass, that when the feast of the dedication drew near, Joachim, with some others of his tribe, went up to Jerusalem, and, at that time, Issachar was high-priest.

Gyff, of his mercy, he wole a chylde vs devyse,
We shal offre it vp, i'to the temple, to be goddys man.(a)

ANNE declares that his words bring tears down her face, and endeavours to console her husband with

I wys swete husband the fawte is mine.

Corresponding in sentiment with him, she vows that if 'God send frute, and it be a mayde childe,' she shall be a 'foot mayd to mynyster' in the temple, and salutes Joachim, saying,

Thryes I kysse you, with syghys ful sad.

They inform Issachar they are come to 'sacrife.' Then follows this direction to the actors.

["*Here they shal synge theis seg'no,* B'N'DICTA SIT "B'A TRINITAS. *And i' that tyme* ysakar, *with his "mi'sters, ensensyth the auter; & then thei make her "off'ry'g.*"]

ISSACHAR invites all present to come up and offer, but he tells Joachim and Anne to stay where they are, that they 'arn barrany and bare;' inquires how they durst presume among fruitful persons; that it is a token they are cursed; and finally, he rejects their offerings, and charges Joachim to go fast out of the temple.(b) Next is sung

✠ PATER ✠ ET FILIUS ✠ ET SP'US S'C'US. *Chor.* Amen.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, i.—5. In this manner they lived for about twenty years chastely, in the favour of God, and the esteem of men, without any children.

6. But they vowed, if God should favour them with any issue, they would devote it to the service of the Lord; on which account they went at every feast in the year to the temple of the Lord.

(b) 8. Who, when he saw Joachim along with the rest of his neighbours, bringing his offerings, despised both him and his offerings, and asked him,

ISSACHAR blesses the people in these words:—

Now, of god & man, blessyd be ye alle.
Homward agen now returne ye;
And in this temple abyde we shalle,
To servyn god in trinyte.

JOACHIM, greatly laments his disgrace:—

Now wyl I go to my shepherdys, and with hem abyde;
& th'r evyr mor, levyn in sor'we, & in drede:
Shame makyth many man his hed for to hyde.(1)

He salutes the shepherds with 'Ha how do ye, felas—how far ye & my bestys?' They answer, 'they be lusty & fayr, & grettly multyply—how do ye, mayster?'

This answer touches a sore place—he tells them to do what they list, and see their 'bestys not stray.' Praying to God in great bitterness, he says of himself,

What am I? wretche!—worse than an hownde.

ANNE also prays, and expostulates with God:—

Why do ye thus to my' husbond, lord; why? why? why?
for my barynes he may amend this y'self, and thou lyste, to mor'we.

[*Her the* AUNGEL *descendith the hefne, syngyng* EXULTET.]

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

9. Why he, who had no children, would presume to appear among those who had? Adding, that his offerings could never be acceptable to God, who was judged by him unworthy to have children; the Scripture having said, Cursed is every one who shall not beget a male in Israel.

10 He further said, that he ought first to be free from that curse by begetting some issue, and then come with his offerings into the presence of God.

(1) MARY, i.—11. But Joachim being much confounded with the shame of such reproach, retired to the shepherds who were with the cattle in their pastures;

12. For he was not inclined to return home, lest his neighbours, who were present and heard all this from the high-priest, should publicly reproach him in the same manner.

THE ANGEL acquaints Joachim, that God, by making barrenness, shews "his myth & his mercye bothe;(a) reminds him that Sarah was ninety years barren and bore Isaac;(b) that barren Rachel bore Joseph,

that of Egypt was kynge,(c)
A stronger, than Sampson;

that Samuel's mother was barren, till she bore him;(d)

And, in the lyke wyse, Anne, thy blyssyd wyff,
Sche shal ber' a childe, schal hygth Mary,(e)
Whic'h shall be blyssyd in her body, and have joys ffyff,

be full of the holy ghost, inspired, and offered in the temple,(f)

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, ii.—1. But when he had been there for some time, on a certain day when he was alone, the angel of the Lord stood by him with a prodigious light,

2. To whom, being troubled at the appearance, the angel who had appeared to him, endeavouring to compose him, said;

3. Be not afraid, Joachim, nor troubled at the sight of me, for I am an angel of the Lord sent by him to you, that I might inform you, that your prayers are heard, and your alms ascended in the sight of God.

4. For he hath surely seen your shame, and heard you unjustly reproached for not having children; for God is the avenger of sin, and not of nature;

5. And so when he shuts the womb of any person, he does it for this reason, that he may in a more wonderful manner again open it, and that which is born appear to be not the product of *lust, but the gift of God.*

(b) 6. For the first mother of your nation Sarah, was she not barren even till her eightieth year: And yet even in the end of her old age brought forth Isaac, in whom the promise was made of a blessing to all nations.

(c) 7. Rachel also, so much in favour with God, and beloved so much by holy Jacob, continued barren for a long time, yet afterwards was the mother of Joseph, who was not only governor of Egypt, but delivered many nations from perishing with hunger.

(d) 8. Who, among the judges, was more valiant than Sampson, or more holy than Samuel? And yet both their mothers were barren.

(e) 9. But if reason will not convince you of the truth of my words, that there are frequent conceptions in advanced years, and that those who were barren have brought forth to their great surprise; therefore Anna your wife shall bring you a daughter, and you shall call her name Mary;

(f) 10. She shall, according to your vow, be devoted to the Lord from her infancy, and be filled with the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb;

11. She shall neither eat nor drink

And as sche sc'hal be bor' of a barrany body,
So, of her, schal be bor', with out natur', J'hus,
That schal be savyo', vnto al man kende,(a)

'In tokyn' he prophesies to Joachim, that he shall meet Anne at the gyldyd gate of Jerusalem.(b)

JOACHIM takes his leave of the shepherds, who being glad to see his spirits revive, say,

We schal make vs so mery, now this is be stad,
That, a myle on yo' way, ye schal her' vs synge.

THE ANGEL appears to ANNE, tells her that God hath heard her prayers, that she shall meet her husband at the 'goldyn gate,' and conceive, and bear a child, whose destiny he foretels,(c) and Anne rejoices,

[*Her go'th the Aungel agen to hefne.*]

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

any thing which is unclean, nor shall her conversation be without among the common people, but in the temple of the Lord; that so she may not fall under any slander or suspicion of what is bad.

(a) MARY, ii.—12. So in the process of her years, as she shall be in a miraculous manner born of one that was barren, so she shall, while yet a virgin, in a way unparalleled, bring forth the Son of the most High God, who shall be called Jesus, and, according to the signification of his name, be the Saviour of all nations.

(b) 13. And this shall be a sign to you of the things which I declare, namely, when you come to the golden gate of Jerusalem, you shall there meet your wife Anna, who being very much troubled that you returned no sooner, shall then rejoice to see you.

(c) iii.—1. Afterwards the angel appeared to Anna his wife, saying? Fear not, neither think that which you see is a spirit;

2. For I am that angel who hath offered up your prayers and alms before God, and am now sent to you, that I may inform you, that a daughter will be born unto you, who shall be called Mary, and shall be blessed above all women.

6. Arise therefore, and go up to Jerusalem, and when you shall come to that which is called the golden gate (because it is gilt with gold), as a sign of what I have told you, you shall meet your husband, for whose safety you have been so much concerned.

JOACHIM and ANNE meet in great joy, and he gives her a 'kusse of clennesse.' (a)

The drama concludes with an intimation that it is their intention to go home,

To thank god, that sytt in tron',
That thus hath sent us his grace.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a). MARY, iii.—8. ¶ According therefore to the command of the angel, both of them left the places where they were, and when they came to the place specified in the angel's prediction, they met each other.

11. ¶ So Anna conceived, and brought forth a daughter, and, according to the angel's command, the parents did call her name Mary.

MYSTERY II.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT* IX.

MARY'S EDUCATION IN THE TEMPLE, AND BEING SERVED BY ANGELS.

THE PLAY opens by Contemplation speaking a *Prologue* beginning

Sovereynes; ye have sen shewyd you befor',
Of Joachym & Anne, both ther'e holy metynge;
How o' lady was conseyved, and how she was bor';
We passe ovyr that—breffnes of tyme consyderynge.

The Prologue announces the entrance of Mary, and how

——— as a childe of iij yer' age, her' she schal apper,
That holy mater we wole declare,
Tyl ffortene yer', how sche did far':
Now of you' speche I pray yow spar,
All that ben in this place.

[*Her Joachym and Anne, with our' lady be twen hem, beyng al in whyte, as a childe of iij yer' age, presente her' in to the temple; thus seyng Joachym.* (1)]

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(1) MARY, iv.—1. And when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to the temple of the Lord with offerings.

JOACHIM exclaims 'Blyssyd be our lord, ffayr ffrute have we now,' and he reminds his wife of their vow:—

The age of Mary, our dowter, is yers three,
Th'for', to thre p'sonys and on god, lete vs her p'sent.

ANNE assents, and says to MARY,

Dowter, the aungel (told) us ye shulde be a qwen;
Woll ye go se that lord yo' husbond schal ben;
& lerne for to love hym; and lede w't hy' yo' lyff?
Telle yo' ffadyr & me her, yo' Answer let sen,
Wole ye be pur' maydy', & also goddys wyff?

MARY answers, that as her father and mother have vowed,

——— so ssothly wow I
To be goddys chast seruaunt, whil lyff is mine;
But to be goddys wyff I was never wurthy
I am the sympelest that ever was born of body;
I haue herd you sey'd god schulde haue a modyr swete,
That I may leve to se hir', god graunt me, for his mercy,
& abyl me to ley my handys vndyr hir' fayr fete.
[*Et genuflectet ad deum.*]

JOACHIM encourages Mary by observing,

I wys dowter it is wel seyd
Ye answer & ye wer' twenty yer' olde.

JOACHIM and ANNE go to Issachar, and Joachim addresses him thus:

Her' p'nce of Prestes, & it plese you,
We, that wer' barryn, god hath sent a childe,
To offre her to goddys service we made our' a vow;
Her' is the same mayde, mary most mylde.

ISSACHAR tells Joachim he recollects that he reproached them, but he rejoices they are now among the fruitful; and he compliments Mary with

Ye have a gracyous face.

JOACHIM, then bowing with great reverence, says that to

ffadyr, & son, & holy gost,
On god, & p'sonys thre,

he offers Mary to be a servant for ever.

ANNE encourages Mary to go up to the 'Pre'st.' She asks their blessing: in answer to which Joseph says, '*In nomine patris & filii & sp'ris s'c'i*, whereto Mary answers, '*Amen*; now ye good modyr:' Anne repeats '*In nomine, &c.*' Mary thanks them, and intreats forgiveness if ever she offended them

[*Et explexendo osculabit p'rem & m'rem.*]

JOACHIM and ANNE congratulate themselves on having 'suche a chylde.'

ISSACHAR tells Mary that she shall be the accepted daughter of 'god eternall,' and

If the fyfte'ne grees thou may ascende
It is miracle, if thou do. (a)

[*Maria & sic deinceps usq. ad finc' xv^ti psalmor'.*]

MARY repeats the degrees in quadrats, each prefaced by a Latin line.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, iv.—2. And there were about the temple, according to the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, fifteen stairs to ascend.

3. For the temple being built in a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which was without, could not be come near but by stairs.

Ep'us. A gracyous lord! this is a mervelyous thynge
That we se her' all in sygt,
A babe of thre' yer age so zynge,
To come vp these greeys so vp right.
It is an hey meracle. (a)

MARY inquires,

How I shall be rewlyd in goddys hous?

ISSACHAR answers, that God gave ten commandments, which may be comprised in two; first, the love of God:—

Love ffadyr, sone, and holy gost;
Love God the fadyr, for gevyth myght;
Love God the sone, for he gevyth wysd'm the most;
Love God the holy gost, for he gevyth love and lyght;
Thre' personnys and on god. * * *
Than, love thou evy'r crystyn, as y'r self.

He further informs her that she shall have 'maydenys fyve,' Meditac'on, Contrysson, Compassyon, Clennes, and Fruyssyon. MARY says,

Her' is an holy ffelacha'pp I fele;
I am not wurthy amonge he' to be:—
Swete systers, to yow all, I knele
To receyve me; I beseche yo'r charyte.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, iv.—4. The parents of the blessed Virgin and infant Mary put her upon one of these stairs;

5. But while they were putting off their clothes, in which they had travelled, and according to custom putting on some that were more neat and clean.

6. In the mean time the Virgin of the Lord in such a manner went up all the stairs one after another, without the help of any to lead her or lift her, that any one would have judged from hence, that she was of perfect age.

7. Thus the Lord did, in the infancy of his Virgin, work this extraordinary work, and evidence by this miracle how great she was like to be hereafter.

Ep'us.—They schal dowter; And, on the tother syde, se
Ther' ben sefne prestys in dede,
To schryve, to teche, and to mynystryn to the;
To lerne the goddys lawys, and scryptur' to rede.
Mary.—Fadyr, knew I her' namys well wer' I.
Ep'us.—Ther is Dyscressyon, Devoc'on, Dylexc'on, and Deliberac'on.
They schall tende upon you besyly,
W't Declarac'on, Determynac'on, Dyvynac'on,
Now go ye maydenys, to yo'r occupac'on;
And lóke ye tende this childe tendyrly,
& ye, serys, knelyth, & I schall gyve yow goddy's benyson.
IN NO'NE PR'IS & FILII & SP'US S'CI.
[*Et recedent cu' ministris suis v'es virgines dicent.* Amen.]

JOACHIM and ANNE leave MARY, who says to her maidens,

Syster', ye may go do what ye schal
To serve God; fyrst her' is al my thought;
Beforn this holy awter' on my knes I fall.

She prays for obedience and suitable virtues.

Her' the aungel bryngyth manna, in a cowp of gold, lyke to confecc'ons; the hefne syngynge: the a'ngel seyth

Merueyle not, mekest mayd'on, of my mynystrac'on;
I am a good Aungel, sent of god All myght,
W't angelys mete, for yo'r sustentac'on;
Ye to receyve it; ffor natural myght,
We aungellys schul serve yow, day and nyght.
Now fede yow th' with, in goddys name;
We schal lerne yow the lyberary of our' lordys lawe lyght,
For my sawys in yow, shewyth sygnes of shame.

MARY, accepting the food, observes,

All man'er of savowrs in this mete I fynde;
I felt nevyr none so swete, ner so redolent. (*)

The ANGEL acquaints her that, at 'alle howrys,' angels shall attend on her.

MARY is greatly astonished, and she is thus alliteratively addressed by the ANGEL

In yo'r name, MARIA, ffyve letterys we han:—
M.—Mayde, most mercyfull, & mekest i' mende;
A.—Auerte of the Anguysch, that Adam began;
R.—Regina, of Regyon, reyneynge w't owty' ende;
I.—Innocent, be Influens of Jesse's kende;
A.—Aduocat, most autentyk, yo'r Auntecer Anna,
Hefne & helle her' kneys down bende,
Whan this holy name of yow is seyd MARIA.
Maria.—I qwake grettly, for dred, to her' this com'endac'on;
Good swete Aungel why wole ye sey thus?
Aungell.—For ye schal, herafter, have a salutac'on
That schall this excede: it is seyde, amonge vs,
The deyte that dede shall determyn, & dyseris;
Ye schal nevyr, lady, be lefte here a lone.
Mary.—I crye ye mercy lorde and thin' erthe cus;
Recomendynge me to that godhyd, that is tryne, i' tro'ne.

His osculet terra'. Her' schal comyn, alwey, an Aungel, w't dyvers p'sents, goynge & comyng, & in the tyme thei schal synge, in hefne, this hy'pne J'HU CORONA VIRGINII. *And, aft' that, comyth a mi'st', fro the busschop, w't a p's'et.*

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(*) MARY, v. 1. But the Virgin of the Lord, as she advanced in years, increased also in perfections, and according to the saying of the Psalmist, her father and mother forsook her, but the Lord took care of her.

2. For she every day had the conversation of angels, and every day received visions from God, which preserved her from all sorts of evil, and caused her to abound with all good things.

MARY receives the refreshment with thanks, but gives it to her maidens, requiring them to bestow what they leave on 'po'r folk faryn god.'

CONTEMPLATION speaks the following

Epilogue.

Lo! sofreynes, her ye have seyn',
In the temple, of our ladyes p̄resentac'on;
She was nevyr occapyed in thyngs veyn,
But evyr besy, in holy ocupacyon.
And we be seche yow, of your pacyens,
That we pace these maters so lythly away;
If thei shulde be do with good prevydens,
Eche on wolde suffyce for an hoole day.

Now schal we p'cede to her dissponsac'on,
Which, after this, was xiiij ye'r;
Tyme sufficyth not to make pawsac'on,
Hath pacyens w't vs, we be sech yow her',
And, in short spas,
The parlement of hefne sone schal ye se,
& how goddys son com' man schal be,
And how the salutac'on after' schal be,
Be goddys holy gras.

MYSTERY III.

THE MIRACULOUS ESPOUSAL OF MARY AND JOSEPH.

ISSACHAR, the 'BUSSHOPP,' enters, and requests attention from the audience in an address beginning

Lystenyth Lordyngs both hye and lowe.

He says, 'The lawe of god byddyth this sawe'

That at xiiij yer' of age
Every damesel what so sche be
To the encrese of mor' plente
Shulde be browght in good degr'
On to her spowsage. (a)

JOACHIM and ANNE bring MARY to ISSACHAR, who, supposing she is come to choose a 'spowse,' welcomes her.

MARY says that she is not against the law, but that she will 'levyn evyr in chastyte.'

[*Passage paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, v.—4. At that time the high-priest made a public order, That all the virgins who had public settlements in the temple, and were come to this age, should return home, and, as they were now of a proper maturity, should, according to the custom of their country, endeavour to be married.

ISSACHAR inquires why she will 'not to weddyng go?'

MARY relates that her father and mother 'were bothe baryn;' that

> Bycause they hadde nothyr frute nor chylde,
> Reprevyd thei wer' of wykkyd and wylde;

that they vow'd, if they had a child, it should be dedicated to the service of God;—

> He herd her longe p'y's,
> & than sent hem both seed and flow'r;
> Whan I was born in her bow'r
> To the temple offryd I was;

and dedicated to chastity. (a)

ISSACHAR declares that the law is express, that all maydens should go to the spowsing; that her Parents are not to blame for vowing, in their barrenness, to dedicate their 'frute;' that to make a vow to God is lawful by scripture, and to observe the law also is needful; and he beseeches the advice of the Priests.

A Priest advises that they all pray to God directly, and that they shall begin VENI CREATOR SP'US.

[*And whan veni creat' is doin, the buschop shal seyng* NOW LORD GOD OF LORDYS WHYSEST OF ALL &c.']

[*Passages paralleled; rom the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, v.—5. To which command, though all the other virgins readily yielded obedience, Mary the Virgin of the Lord alone answered, that she could not comply with it,
6. Assigning these reasons, that both she and her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord; and besides, that she had vowed virginity to the Lord, which vow she was resolved never to break through by lying with man.

He then prays to 'the lorde, knelynge on kne,' for a solution of this 'dowteful dowte.' (a)

AN ANGEL appears and acquaints the Bishop that his prayer 'is herd to hyg hevyn halle;' that God hath sent him to tell him what to do in the dilemma; and he desires the Bishop to

Take tent, & undyrstond,
This is goddys owyn byddyng,
That all kynsmen of Dauyd the kyng,
To the temple shul brynge, her' an offryng,
W't whyte yardys in their honde.

Loke wele what tyme thei offer' ther',
All her' yardys in their hand then take;
Take hede whose yerde doth blome and ber',
And he shal (be) the maydenys make.(b)

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, v.—7. The high-priest being hereby brought into a difficulty,

8. Seeing he durst neither on the one hand dissolve the vow, and disobey the Scripture, which says, Vow and pay,

9. Nor on the other hand introduce a custom, to which the people were strangers, commanded

10. That at the approaching feast all the principal persons both of Jerusalem and the neighbouring places should meet together, that he might have their advice, how he had best proceed in so difficult a case.

11. When they wereaccordingly met, they unanimously agreed to seek the Lord, and ask counsel from him on this matter.

12. And when they were all engaged in prayer, the high priest, according to the usual way, went to consult God,

13. And immediately there was a voice from the ark and the mercy seat, which all present heard, that it must be inquired or sought out by a prophecy of Isaiah, to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed;

14. For Isaiah saith, there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of its root,

15. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, the Spirit of Counsel and Might, the Spirit of Knowledge and Piety, and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him.

16. Then, according to this prophecy, he appointed, that all the men of the house and family of David, who were marriageable, and not married, should bring their several rods to the altar,

(b) 17. And out of whatsoever person's rod after it was brought, a flower should bud forth, and on the top of it the Spirit of the Lord should sit in the appearance of a dove, he should be the man to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed.

The BISHOP orders 'Proclamacion' to be made accordingly, and JOSEPH, hearing the announcement, says,

In gret labor', my lyff I lede,
Myn' ocupasy'on lyth in many place,
For ffebylnesse of age my Jorney I may not spede,
I thank the, gret god', of thi grace.

JOSEPH lies down on the ground from weariness, and exclaims,

Age and febylnesse doth me embras,
That I may nother well goe ne stond.

Proclamation is made that MARY is to be married to one of the house of David, who are required to appear before the Bishop: He is waiting for them, the Officer says, and

He byddyth yow, ferthermor', in handys that ye hent,
A fayr white yerde, every'ch of yow ye bryng.

Joseph.—Benedicite! I cannot vnder stande
What our p'nce of prests doth me'n,
That every man shuld come & brynge with hy' a whande,
Abyl to be maryed that is: Not I!—So!—Mote I then?
I have be' maydon evyr, and evyr mor' wele ben;
I chaungyd not yet, of all my long lyff,
& now to be maryed! s'n man wold wene,
It is a straunge thynge, an old man to take a yonge wyff!

But, nevyr the lesse, no doute, of we must, forth to towne.
Now neybors & kynnysmen lete us forth go:
I shal take a wand in my hand, and cast of my gowne,
Yf I falle, then I shalle, gronyn for wo.

Ho so take away my staff, I say he wer' my fo;
Ye be men that may wel ren, go ye be for;
I am old, & also colde, walkyng doth me wo;
Th'rfore now, wole I so, my staff holde, I this jurny to wor'.

The BISHOP explains to the men of the house of David the cause of his assembling them, and why each was commanded to bear a wand:—

All yo' roddys ye shal brynge vp to me,
&, on hese rodde, that the holy gost is syttynge,
He shal the husbonde of this ma'y be.
[*Hic portent v'gas.*]

Joseph.—It shal not be, I ley a grotte;
I shal a byde behynde p'uyly.
Now wolde God I wer' at hom, in my cote;
I am a schamyd to be seyn, veryly.

Several make their offering. The last man desires Joseph to bring up his offering, accuses him of tarrying behind, and says, 'Com on man; for shame!'

Joseph.—Com? ya! ya! god help, full fayn I wolde,
But I am so agyd, and so olde,
That both my leggs gyn to folde;
I am ny almost lame.(a)

The BISHOP says he can 'no sygne a spy,' and proposes to go to prayer again,(b) to which it is answered, that

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[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, vi:—1. Among the rest there was a man named Joseph, of the house and family of David, and a person very far advanced in years, who drew back his rod, when every one besides presented his.

(b) 2. So that when nothing appeared agreeable to the heavenly voice, the high-priest judged it proper to consult God again,

He brought not up his rodde trewly,
To whom the mayd howyth to be maryed her.(a)
Ep'us.—Whath, Joseph! why stande ye ther' by hynde?
I wis, ser, ye be to blame.
Joseph.—Ser I kan not my rodde fynde,
To come th'r in trowth me thynkyht shame.
[*Ep'us comyth thens.*]
Ep'us,—Offyr up yo' rodde, ser, in goddys name;
Why do ye not as men yow pray?
Joseph.—Ser, he may euyl go that is ner lame;
In soth I com' as fast as I may.

JOSEPH, when he presents his rod, prays to be acquitted of sin: laments that he can scarcely lift his hands; and, on a sudden, exclaims with astonishment,

Lo! lo! lo! what se ye now?

Ep'us.—A mercy! mercy! mercy! lord, we crye!
The blyssyd of god we see art thou!
[*& clama't o'es m'cy m'cy.*]
A gracyous god, in hevyn trone!
Ryht wundyrful thi werkys be.
Her' may we se a merveyl one,
A ded stok beryth flours ffre.
Joseph, in hert, with outen mone,
Thou mayst be blyth, with game & gle,
A mayd to wedde, thou must 'gone,
Be this meracle I do wel se;
Mary is her' name.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, vi.—3. Who answered, that he to whom the Virgin was to be betrothed was the only person of those who were brought together, who had not brought his rod.
4. Joseph therefore was betrayed.

Joseph.—What! shuld I wedde? god for bede!
I am an old man, so god me spede,
& with a wyff, now to levyn in drede,
It wor' neyther sport ner game.

Ep'us—Agens God, Joseph, thou mayst not stryve;
God wyl' that thou a wyff haue.
This fayr mayde shal be thi' wyve;
She is buxum, & whyte as laue.

Joseph.—A! shuld I have her, ye lese my lyff.
Alas! der god, shuld I now rave?
An old man may nevyr thryff
With a yonge wyff; so God me saue!
Nay, nay, ser' lett bene;
Shuld I now, in age, beg'y'ne to dote,
If I her chyde, she wolde clowte my cote,
Bler' my (ey') & pyke out a mote,
& thus oftyn tymes it is sene.

The BISHOP tells JOSEPH that God hath assigned Mary to him, and will not be opposed.

JOSEPH assents, and, turning to the Virgin, says,

But, fayr maydon, I thee p'y,
Kepe thee clene as I shal me,
I am a man of age;
Therfor', ser busshop, I wyl, that ye wete,
That in bedde we shul nevyr mete;
ffor I wys, mayden swete,
An old man may not rage.

Ep'us.—¶ This holyest virgyn shalt thou maryn now;
Your rodde floreschyth fayrest, that man may se.
[*& hi' ca'te't. B'n'd'c'a sit b'a t'nitas.*]

The hole gost we se, syttyht on a bow;(a)
Now yeld we all preysing to the trenyte.
¶ Joseph; wele ye have this maydon to yo' wyff,
& her' hono', & kepe, as ye howe to do?

Joseph.—Nay ser, so mote I thryff,
I haue ryght no nede therto.

Ep'us.—Joseph; it is goddys wyl it shuld be so;
Sey after me, as it is skyl.

Joseph.—Here, and to p'forme his wyl, I bow thereto,
ffor all thynge owyght to ben at his wyl.

Ep'us & ide' Joseph.

Sey thou after me:—Her I take thee Mary to wyff,
To hauy' to holdyn, as God his wyll with ws wyl make,
& as long as be thwyn us, leftyght our' lyff,
To loue yow as my selff, my trewth I you take.

Mine ad Mariam sic dicens.

Ep'us.—Mary; wole ye haue this man,
And hym to kepyn, as yo' lyff?

Maria.—In the tenderest wyse, fadyr, as I kan,
& with all my wyttys ffyff.

Ep'us.—Joseph; with this ryng now wedde thi wyff,
& be her hand, now, thou her' take.

Joseph.—Ser, with this rynge, I wedde her ryff,
& take her' now her', for my make.

Ep'us.—Mary, mayd, with outyn mor' stryff,
On to thi spowse, thou hast hym take.(b)

Maria.—In chastyte, to leden my lyff,
I shal hym nevyr for sake,

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, vi.—5. For, when he did bring his rod, and a dove coming from Heaven pitched upon the top of it, every one plainly saw, that the Virgin was to be betrothed to him:

(b) 6. Accordingly, the usual ceremonies of betrothing being over, he returned to his own city of Bethlehem, to set his house in order, and make the needful provisions for the marriage.

But evyr with hym a byde;
And, jentyll spowse, as ye an seyd,
lete me levyn as a clene mayd,
I shal be trewe, be not dysmayd,
Both terme, tyme, and tyde.

Ep'us.—Her is the holyest mat'remony, that evyr was, in this werde:
The hyg names of our lord we wole now syng hy,
We all wole this solempn dede record
Devowtly. [*Alma chorus d'ni n'ne pangat no'i'a summ'.*]
¶ Now goth hom all, in godys name,
Wher as yo' wonyng was befor:
Maydenys, to lete her go a lone it wor' shame,
It wold hevy you' herts sor';
Ye shal blysse the tyme that sche was bor',
Now loke at hom her brynge.

Maria.—To have you' blyssyng ffadyr I falle yow be for'.

Ep'us.—He blesse yow that hath non hendyng;
In no'i'e p'ris & filii & sp'us s'ci.

Ep'us.—¶ Joseph; thi selph art old of age,
And the wyff of age is yonge,
&, as we redyn, in old sage,
Many man is sclepyr of tonge;
Therfor, euyl langage for to swage,
That yo' good fame may leste longe,
iij damysellys schul dwelle with yow i' stage,
With thi wyff, to be evyr mor a monge,
& schal these iij her take:
Susanne, the fyrst, schal be;
Rebecca, the secunde, schal go with the;
Sephor' the thrydde. Loke that, ye thre,
This maydon nevyr ye for sake.

The 'maydenys' declare their readiness to go. Mary entreats, and obtains, the blessing of her parents, and ANNE says to her,

I pray to God thee save;
I pray thee, mary, my swete chylde,
Be lowe, & buxhum, meke, & mylde,
Sad, & sobyr, & nothyng wylde,
& goddys blyssynge thou haue.

JOSEPH tells MARY that his kindred will go home before her; that not being rich, he has no house, and he wishes her to abide there, and worship god; Mary assents, determining to

——— sey the holy Psalme of Dauyth,
Whiche book is clepyd the sawter'.

JOSEPH having departed, MARY appears, saying,

I haue seyd sum of my sawter, & her I am,
At this holy psalme in dede,
B'n'dixisti di'ce' terram tuam:
In this holy labor, lord, me spede.

When JOSEPH returns, he addresses her with—

Mary wyff, & mayd, most gracyous:
Displese yow not, I pray yow, so long I haue be;
I have hyryd for us a lytyl praty hous,
& ther in, ryght hesely, levyn wole we.

He invites her, and her maidens, to follow, and says,

I must gon owth hens fer ye' fro,
I wyll go laboryn, in fer co'ntre,(a)
With trewth, to maynteyn our housholde so.

. [*Passage paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) PROTEVAN. viii.—16. I must go to mind my trade of building.

This ix monthis thou seyst me nowth;
Kepe the clene, my jentyl spowse,
•& all thi maydenys in thi howse,
That evyl langage I her not rowse,
For hese love that all hath wrought.

MARY prays God to speed him, and concludes, with

Gracyous God, my mayden hed saue
Euyr clene, in chastyte.

MYSTERY IV.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT XI.*

A COUNCIL OF THE TRINITY AND THE INCARNATION.

CONTEMPLATION begins the PLAY with a

Prologue.

Fowr thowsand, sex vndryd, four yer, I telle,
Man for his offens, & fowle foly,
Hath leyn yer', in the peynes of helle,
And wer' wurthy to ly', there in, endlesly,
But thanne shuld perysche thi grete mercye.

* * * * * *

Wolde God thou woldyst (leave) thi hefne myghty,
& com down her' in to erth,
& levyn yers thre & threttye,
Thyn famy't folke, with thi fode, to fede,
To staunche thi thryste, lete thi syde blede,
ffor erste, wole not be made redemp'c'on,

Virtutes.—The Aungel, lord, thou made so gloryous,
Whos synne hath mad hy' a devyl in helle,
He mevyd man to be so contraryous,
Man repentyd, & he, in his obstynacye, doth dwelle.

VIRTUE prays God to repel the malice of the devil, and take man into grace.

GOD comes forward, saying, that the supplications of all have reached him.

TRUTH tells God he will not leave him—reminds God that he promised, when Adam sinned, 'that he shulde deye & go to helle'—that to restore him is impossible, and prays that he be tormented for ever.

MERCY intercedes to God for compassion, says, that all heaven and earth cry for mercy, and calls the devil 'a helle hownde.'

JUSTICE marvels what moves MERCY so much; and assigns as a good reason for man's eternal punishment,

> That man having offended God, who is endless,
> Therfore, his endles punchement may nevyr sees;
> Also, he forsoke his maker, that made hym of clay,
> And the devyl to his mayst' he ches,
> Shulde he be savyd? nay! nay! nay!

MERCY says, that there is too much vengeance in Justice—that the 'frelnesse' of mankind should be considered—and that the mercy of God is without end.

PEACE exhorts them not to quarrel, and says that she approves Mercy's supplication—

> For, yff mannys sowle shulde abyde in helle,
> Be twen god & man euyr shulde be dyvysyon,
> And than myght not I, pes, dwelle,

She proposes to refer the whole to God, to which

the others assent, and Filius (GOD THE SON) entering, PEACE says,

Her is God! now her' is vnyte;
Hefne & erth is plesyd with pes.

GOD THE SON is inclined to PEACE. He says, that

If Adam had not deyd, peryschyd had ryghtwysnes;
And also, trewth had be' lost ther by:
Giff another deth come not, mercy shulde perysch,
Than pes wer' exyled ffynyaly;
So tweyn dethis must be, yow fowr to cherysch.
¶ But he that shal deye ye, must knawe,
That, in hym, may be non iniquyte,
That helle may holde hym be no lawe,
But, that he may pas, at hese lyberte,
Ower swyche, on his p'vyde, & se;
And hese deth, for mannys deth, schal be redemp'con.
All hefne, & erthe, seke now ye:
Plesyth it yow this con'clusyon?

Veritas.—I trowth, hane sowte the erthe, with out & with inne,
&, in sothe, there kan non be fownde,
That is of o day byrth, with owt synne;
Nor, to that deth, wole be bownde,

M'i'a.—I, mercy, have ronne the hevynly regyon rownde,
And ther is non of that charyte,
That, ffor man, wole suffre a deadly wounde;
So I can nott wete how, this schal be.

Justicia.—Sur'; I can fynde non sufficyent;
ffor servauntys vn profytable we be, ech on;
He love nedyth to be ful ardent,
That, for mān, to helle wolde gon.

Pax.—That God may is non but on;
Therfor, this, is be hys a vyse;

He that gaff this co'nsell, lete hy' geve the comforte a lon,
For the conclusyon, in hym, of all these lyse.

Filius.—It peyneth me, that man I mad,
That is to seyn, peyne I must suffre for.
A counsel of the trinite, must be had,
Whiche of us shal man restor'.

Pater.—In your wysdam, son, man was mad thor,
And in wysdam was his temptac'on,
Therfor, sone, sapyens ye must ordeyn her' for',
& se how, of man, may be salvac'on,

Filius.—ffadyr; he, that schal do this, must be both god & man;
Lete me se how I may wer' that wede;
And syth, in my wysdam, he began,
I am redy to do this dede.

Sp'us s'c'us.—I, the holy gost, of yow tweyn do p'cede;
This charge I wole take on me:
I, love, to your lover, schal yow lede;
This is the assent of our unyte.

M'ia.—Now is the loveday mad, of us fowr, fynia'ly:
Now may we leve in pes, as we wer wonte,
Misericordia & veritas obvianeruat sibi
Justicia & pax osculate sunt
[*& hic osculabunt pariter omnes.*]

GOD THE FATHER directs the Angel GABRIEL to go to MARY at Joseph's, in Galilee; and GOD THE SON instructs Gabriel to

Say that she is with owte wo, & ful of grace,
And that I, the son of the godhed, of her schal be bor'.
Hyge the, thou wer' ther' a pace,
ellys we schal be ther, the be for',
I haue so gret hast, to be man thor',
In that mekest & purest virgyne,
Sey her, she shal restor,
Of yow Aungellys, the grett knyne.

GOD THE HOLY GHOST, adds,

¶ And, if she aske the howe it myth be,
lette her, I, the holy gost, schal werke at this;
Sche schal be savyd thorwe our unyte.
In tokyn, her bareyn cosyn Elyzabeth, is
Qwyk with childe, in her' grett age, I wys;
Sey her', to vs, is no thynge impossyble,
Her' body schal be so ful fylt, with blys,
That she schal sone thynke this sownde credyble.

GABRIEL departs. He then appears to the Virgin, with this salutation:

Heyl!—fful of grace, God is with the!
Amonge all women blyssyd art th'u!
Her' this name Eva, is turnyd Aue,
That is to say, with owte sorwe ar ye now!
¶ Thow sorwe, in yow, hath no place,
Yet of joy lady ye nede more;
Therfore I adde, and sey, ful of grece,
ffor so ful of grace was nevyr non bore;
Yet who hath grace he nedyth kepyng sor',
Therfor' I sey God is with the,
Which schal kepe yow endlesly thor';
So amonge all women blyssyd are ye![a]

Mary says she is troubled at the greeting with 'grett shamfastnes.'[b]

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

[a] MARY, vii.—3. Hail, Mary! Virgin of the Lord most acceptable! Oh Virgin full of grace! The Lord is with you, you are blessed above all women, you are blessed above all men, that have been hitherto born.

[b] 4. But the Virgin, who had before been well acquainted with the countenances of angels, and to whom such light from heaven was no uncommon thing,

5. Was neither terrified with the vision of the angel, nor astonished at the greatness of the light, but only troubled about the angel's words;

6. And began to consider what so extraordinary a salutation should mean, what it did portend, or what sort of end it would have.

Gabryel.—Mary, in this, take ye no drede,
For at God, grace fownde hane ye;
Ye schal conceyve, in yo' wombe, in dede,
A childe, the sone of the trynyte;
His name, of yow, Jh'u clepyd schal be;(a)
He schal be grett, the son of the hyest, clepyd of kende,
&, of his ffadyr, davyd, the lord schal geve hy' the se,
Reynyng i' the hous of Jacob, of which regne schal be
n' ende.(b)

Maria.——————Aungel; I sey to yow,
In what maner of wyse schal this be?
ffor known'ng of man I haue non now;
I haue evyr mor kept, & schal, my virginyte;
I dowte not the wordys ye han seyd to me,
But, I aske howe it schal be do'?(c)

Gabryel.—The holy gost schal com, fro above, to the;
& the vertu of hy', hyest, schal schadu yu.(d)

He directs her to visit Elizabeth, her aged cousin, who is in the 'sexte monyth of her passage.'

[*Her the Aungel makyth a lytyl restynge, & Mary beholdyth hy', & the Aungel seyth,*]

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, vii.—7. To this thought the angel, divinely inspired, replies;
8. Fear not, Mary, as though I intended any thing inconsistent with your chastity in this salutation:
9. For you have found favour with the Lord, because you made virginity your choice.
10. Therefore while you are a Virgin, you shall conceive without sin, and bring forth a son.

(b) 11. He shall be great, because he shall reign from sea to sea, and from the rivers even to the ends of the earth.
12. And he shall be called the Son of the Highest; for he who is born in a mean state on earth, reigns in an exalted one in heaven.
13. And the Lord shall give him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

(c) 15. To this discourse of the angel the Virgin replied, not, as though she were unbelieving, but willing to know the manner of it:
16. She said, How can that be? For seeing, according to my vow, I never have known any man, how can I bear a child?

(d) 19. The Holy Ghost shall come upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you.

The Holy Ghost
Abydyth thin answer, and thin assent.
Thor'we wyse werke of dyvinyte,
the secunde p'sone, verament,
Is mad man, by fraternyte
With inne thi self, in place present.

He acquaints her that 'all the blyssyd spyrytys, all the gode levers, the chosyn sowlys that ar in helle & byde Jesu,'

Thin answer desyr to her;
And thin assent to the incarnac'on:—
Gyff me my' answer', now, lady der'?
Maria.—With all mekenes I 'clyne, to this a corde;
Bowynge down my face, with all benyngnyte.
Se her, the hand mayden of our lorde,
Aftyr thi worde be it don to me.(*)
Gabryel.—Gramercy! my lady ffre;
Gramercy! of yo' aunswer on hyght;
Gramercy! of yo'r grett humylyte;
Gramercy! the', lanterne of lyght!
[*Her' the holy gost discendit, with iij. bemys, to o' lady; the sone of the godhed, nest, with iij. bemys, to the holy gost; the ffadyr, godly, with iij bemys, to the sone; And so entre, al thre, to her bosom; & Mary seyth,*]
A! now I fele, in my body be,
Parfyte god, & parfyte man;
Havyng al schapp of chyldly carnalyte:—
Evyn, all at onys, thus God be gan!

[*Passage paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.)

(*) Mary, vii.—21. Then Mary stretching forth her hands, and lifting her eyes to heaven, said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord! Let it be unto me according to thy word.

¶ Nott takynge ffyrst o membyr, & sythe a nother,
But parfyte childhod ye have a non;
Of your hand mayden, now, ye have made your modyr,
With owte peyne in fflesche & bon!
Thus conceyved nevyr woman non,
That evyr was beynge in this lyff;
O my' hyest ffadyr, in your tron,
It is worthy your son, now my son, have a pr'ogatyff!
¶ I cannot telle what joy, what blysse,
Now I fele in my body.
Aungel Gabryel, I thank yow for thys;
Most mekely recomende me to my faders mercy.
To haue be' the modyr of God, fful lytyl wend I,
Now, my' cosyn Elyzabeth ffayn wold I se,
How sche hath conseyvid, as ye dede specyfy.
Now, blyssyd be the hyg trynyte!
Gabryel.—Far' weyl turtyl; Goddys dowter der':
Far' wel Goddys modyr; I the honowr:
Far' wel Goddys sustyr, & his pleynge fer';
Far' wel Goddys chawmer, & his bowr!

MARY returns Gabriel's farewell, and says,

I undyrstande, by inspyrac'on',
That ye knowe, by synguler p'uylage,
Most of my son'ys Incarnac'on:
I p'y you take it in to vsage,
Be a custom' ocupac'on,
To vesyte me, ofte, be mene passage;
Your p'sence is my comfortac'on.

GABRIEL courteously accepts the invitation, commends himself to 'the trone of the trinyte,' and ascends to 'hefne," with an Ave:—

AVE MARIA! *gr'a plena*
d'us tecu' uy'go sesena } *Ang'li cantando ista sequentia.*

MYSTERY V.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT* XII.

JOSEPH'S JEALOUSY.

(a)*Joseph.*—How dame, how! vndo your dor'! vndo!
Ar ye at hom? why speke ye notht?
Susanna.—Who is ther? why cry ye so?
Telle us your herand: wyl ye ought?
Joseph.—Vn do your dor! I sey you to,
ffor to com in is all my thought.
Maria.—It is my spowse, that spekyth us to,
On do the dor, his wyl wer' wrought.
¶ Well come hom, m'y husbond der!
How have you ferd, in fer co'ntre?
Joseph.—To gete our levynge, with owtyn dwer',
I have sor' laboryd, ffor the & me. (b)
Maria.—Husbond, ryght gracyously, now come be ye;
It solacyth me sor', sothly, to se yow in syth.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, viii.—1. Joseph therefore went from Judæa to Galilee, with intention to marry the Virgin who was betrothed to him;
2. For it was now near three months since she was betrothed to him.

(b) PROTEVANGELION, x.—1. Joseph returned from his building houses abroad, which was his trade.

Joseph.—Me merveylyth, wyff! surely your face I can not se,
But as the sonne with his bemys in 'he is most bryth.
Maria.—¶ Husbond, it is, as it plesyth our lord, that grace of hy' grew.
Who that evyr beholdyth me, veryly,
They schal be grettly steryd to vertu;
ffor this gyfte, and many moo, good lord gramercy!
Joseph.—How hast thou ferde, jentyl mayde,
Whyl I have be' out of londe?
Maria.—Sekyr, ser; beth nowth dysmayde,
Byth aftyr the wyl of goddys sonde.
Joseph.—That semyth evyl, I am afrayd;
Thi wombe to hyge doth stonde; (a)
I drede me sor' I am be trayd,
S'n other man the had in honde,
Hens, sythe, that I went: (b)
Thy wombe is gret, it gynnyth to ryse,
Than has thou be gownne a synfull gyse,
Thy self thou art thus schent.
¶ Now, dame, what thinge menyth this?
With childe thou gynnyst ryth gret to gon;
Sey me, Mary, this childys fadyr ho is?
I p'y the telle me, and that anon?
Maria.—The fadyr of hevyn, & se, it is,
Other fadyr hath he non:
I dede nevyr forfete with man, I wys,
Wherefor', I p'y yow, amende yo' mon,
This childe is goddys, and your'.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, viii.—3. At length it plainly appeared she was with child, and it could not be hid from Joseph:
4. For going to the Virgin in a free manner, as one espoused, and talking familiarly with her, he perceived her to be with child.
(b) 5. And thereupon began to be uneasy and doubtful, not knowing what course it would be best to take,

Joseph.— Goddys childe! thou lyist, in fay'!
God dede nevyr rape so with may'.

* * * *

But yit I say, Mary, whoos childe is this?
Maria.—Goddys and your', I sey, I wys.
Joseph.—Ya, ya! all olde men, to me take tent,
& weddyth no wyff, in no kynnys wyse,
That is a yonge wench, be my a sent,
For doute & drede & swych servyse.
Alas! Alas! my name is shent;
All men may me now dyspyse,
& seyn olde cokwold!———

* * * *

Alas, and welaway!
Alas, dame! why dedyst thou so?
For this synne, that thou hast do,
I the for sake, and from the go,
For onys evyr, & dy.
Maria.—Alas gode spowse! why sey ye thus?
Alas der' hosbund a mende yo' mod!
It is no man, but swete Jhus,
He wyll be clad in flesch and blood,
And of yo' wyff be born.
Saphor.—For sothe the A'ngel thus seyd he,
That goddys sone, in trynite,
For mannys sake, a man wolde be,
To save that is for lorn.
Joseph.—An A'ngel! allas, alas! fy for schame!
Ye syn now, in that ye to say;
To puttyn an A'ngel in so gret blame.
Alas, alas! let be do way;
It was s'n boy began this game,
That clothyd was clene and gay,
& ye geve hym now an A'ngel name.
Alas, alas! and welaway,
That evyr this game be tydde!

A dame! what thought haddyst thou?
Her may all men this proverbe trow,
That many a man doth bete the bow,
Another man hath the brydde.
Maria.—A gracyous God! in hefne trone!
Comforte my spowse in this hard cas;
Mercyful god, a mend his mone,
As I dede nevyr so gret trespas.
Joseph.—Lo, Lo, sers! what told I yow,
That it was not for my prow,
A wyff to take me to,
An that is wel sene now;
For Mary, I make god a vow,
Is grett with childe, lo!
Alas, why is it so?
To the busshop I wole it telle,
That he the lawe may here do,
With stonys her to qwelle.
¶ Nay, nay, yet God forbede!
That I shuld do that ve'geabyl dede.
But if I wyst, wel away!
I knew nev' with her, so God me spede,
To ky' of thynge, i' word nor dede,
That towchyd velany.
Nevyr the less what for thy,
Thow she be meke & mylde,
With owth mannys company,
She myght not be with childe.
¶ But I ensur' my' was it nevyr;
Thow yet she hath not done her devyr,
Rather than I shuld pleyny' opynly,
Certeynly, yett, had I levyr
For sake the co'ntr', ffor evyr,
& nevyr come i' her' co'pany.
For, & men knew this velany,

In reproff thei wolde me holde,
And yett many bettyr than I,
Ya! hath ben made cokolde.
¶ Now, alas! whedyr schal I gone?
I wot nevyr whedyr, nor to what place;
For oftyn tyme sor'we comyth sone,
& longe it is or it pace.
No comfort may I have her'.
I wys wyff thou dedyst me wronge,
Alas I taryed fro' the to longe,
All men have pety enime amonge,
For to my sor'we is no cher.(a)

Maria.—God! that in my body art sesyd,
Thou knowist my husbond is dysplesyd,
To se me i' this plight;
For unknowlage he is desesyd,
& therfor help that he wer' esyd,
That he myght knowe the ful p'f' ygbt;
For I hane levyr abyde respyt,
To kepe thi sone in p'uite,
Graunted by the holy spyryt,
Than that it shulde be opyn'd by me.

GOD appears and instructs an Angel to desire Joseph will abide with Mary, she being pregnant by God himself.

Angelus.(b)—Joseph! Joseph! thou wepyst shyrle,
Fro' thi wyff why comyst thou owte?

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) MARY, viii.—6. For being a just man, he was not willing to expose her, nor defame her by the suspicion of being a whore, since he was a pious man. 7. He purposed therefore privately to put an end to their agreement, and as privately to send her away.

(b) 8. But while he was meditating these things, behold the angel of the Lord appeared to him.

Joseph.—Good ser! lete me wepe my ffylle;
Go forthe that wey, & lett me nowght.

THE ANGEL requests him to return and cheer her—

Sche is a ful clene may',
I tolle ye God wyl of her be born,
And sche clene mayd as she was be forn,
To save mankynd that is for lorn;
Go cher' her, ther'for', I say.

Joseph.—A, lord god! benedicite!
Of thi gret comforte I thank the,
That thou sent me this space;
I myght wel a wyst paidé,
So good a creatur' as sche,
Wold nevyr a don' trespace

* * * * * *

JOSEPH then returns to Mary, and under a feeling of repentance and delight, says,

Joseph.—Alas! for joy, I qwedyr & qwake!
Alas! what hap now was this?
A mercy! mercy! my jentyl make,
mercy! I have seyd al a mys;
All that I have seyd her' I for sake,
Your swete fete now let me kys.

Maria.—Nay lett be; my féte not thou' them take;
My mowth ye may kys, I wys,
& welcome on to me.

Joseph.—Gra'mercy! my' owyn swete wyff!
Gramercy! myn hert! my love! my lyff!
Schal I nevyr mor' mak suche stryff,
Be twyx me & the!

He tells her he is convinced:—

Had thou not be' a vertuous wythe;
God wold not a be' the' with inne.

JOSEPH assures MARY that hereafter he will serve her, and worship the child; yet he expresses curiosity—

& therefor' telle me, & nothynge w'hou'de,
The holy mat'er of your concep'ion.

MARY relates, that the Angel Gabriel greeted her, and said,

God shulde be borne of my bode,
The ffendys powste ffor to ffelle,
Thor'we the Holy Gost, as I wel se:
Thus God, in me, wyl byde & dwelle.

JOSEPH expresses satisfaction, thanks God, is reconciled to Mary, and the performance concludes.

MYSTERY VI.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT* XIII.

VISIT OF MARY TO ELIZAβETH.

MARY discoursing with JOSEPH, informs him that Elizabeth is with Child, and proposes to visit her.

Joseph.—A! godys sake! is *she* with childe? *sche?*
Than wole her husbond zakarye be mery;
In Montana they dwelle, fer hens, so moty the
In the cety of Juda, I know it veryly,
It is hens, I trowe, myles two & ffyfty.

They prepare for the journey, and on setting off, Mary urges Joseph to go fast, 'ffor I am schamfast of the pepyl to be seyne.'

Joseph.—Amen, Amen, & evyr more,
[*& sic t'nsient eta plac'eu.*]
Lo wyff! lo! how starkly I go befor.

CONTEMPLATION.

Sovereynes! Vndyrstand, that kyng davyd here
Ordeyned ffour & twenty prestys, of grett devoc'on,
In the temple of God. * * * *
And on' was prynce of prestys, havynge d'nacy'on,

Amonge which was an old prest, clepyd Zakarye,
&, he had an old woman to his wyff, of holy conversac'on,
Whiche hyth Elizabeth, that nevyr had childe, verylye.

CONTEMPLATION then states, that there has been an annunciation by Gabriel to Zachary that his wife should conceive, her consequent conception, and Mary's intended visit to her:

And of her' tweyners metyng,
her gynnyth the proces;—
Now god be our begynnynge,
&, of my tonge, I wole ses.

Joseph.—A! A! wyff, in feyth I am wery;
therfore I wole sytt downe & rest me ryght her'
Lo, wyff! her is the hous of Zakary,
Wole ye I'clepe Elyzabeth to yow to aper?

Maria.—Nay, husbond, and it plese you, I shal go ner.
Now the blyssyd trynite be in this hous!
A! cosyn Elizabeth! swete modyr! what cher?
Ye grow grett; A, my God! how ye be gracyous![a]

Elizabeth.—A non, as I herd of yow this holy gretynge,
Mekest mayden, & the modyr of god, Mary,
Be yo' breth, the holy gost vs was inspyrynge,
That the childe in my body enjoyd gretly,
And turnyd down, on his knes, to our god, reverently,
Whom ye ber' in your body.[b]

They congratulate and bless each other. Eliza-

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

[a] PROTEVAN. ix.—19. Then Mary, filled with joy, went away to her cousin Elizabeth, and knocked at the door.

[b] 20. Which when Elizabeth heard, she ran and opened to her, and blessed her, and said, Whence is this to me. that the mother of my Lord should come unto me?

21. For lo! as soon as the voice of thy salutation reached my ears, that which is in me leaped and blessed thee.

beth asks Mary what occasioned her visit; to this she answers,

Mary.—Whan I sat, in my lytyl hous, on to God praynge,
Gabryel come, & seyde to me, *Ave;*
Ther I conceyvyd God, at my consentynge,
Parfyte god & p'fyte man, at onys beynge;
Than the Aungel seyd on to me,
That it was sex monethys syn your conseyvynge,
This cawsyth my comynge cosyn, yow to cō'fort & se.

ELIZABETH acquaints Mary of her own conception after Gabriel's salutation, and they sing *Magnificat*, taking two lines alternately. It is given in the Latin, and translated into English verse. Mary says this Psalm ought

to be seyn
Euery day amonge us, at our eve song.
But, cosyn Elyzabeth, I schal you her' kepe,
& this thre monethis abyde her' now,
Tyl ye han childe, to wasche, sko'r, & swepe,
&, in all that I may, to comforte yow.

Elizabeth.—A ye! modyr of God! ye shewe us her' how
We schulde be made, that wrecchis her be,
All hefne and herthe wurchepp yow mow,
That ar' trone & tabernakyl of the hyg trinite.

ZACHARY remains speechless during this conversation. Joseph salutes him.

Joseph.—A! how do ye? how do ye, ffadyr Zacharye?
We ffalle ffast in age with owt'oth:
Why shake ye so yo' hed? hane ye the palsye?
Why speke ye not ser'? I trowe ye ar' not wroth.

Elizabeth.—Nay wys, ffadyr Joseph, th'to he wer' ful loth;
It is the vesytac'on of God; he may not speke, veryly;
lete us thank god therfor both,
He schal remedy it whan it plesyth his mercy.

JOSEPH tells Mary they have far to go, and had better return home. After mutual leave taking with Zachary and Elizabeth, they depart.

[*Her Mary & Elizabet party', & Elizabeth goth to Zakarie & seyth,*]

Good husboud ryse up, I be seke yow, & go we the te'ple now fast, to worship, because god wyl be born.

Cotepla'on.—Lystenyth Sovereynys, her is a conclusyon
How the Ave was mad, her' is lernyd vs;
The Aungel seyd, *Ave g'ia plena d'us tecum,*
benedicta tu in mulieribus.
Elyzabeth seyd, *et benedictus*
fruitis ventris tui. Thus the CHURCH added *Maria,* and *Jh'us* her.
Who seyth our ladyes sawter dayly, ffor a yer thus,
He hath pardon ten thowsand & eyte hundryd yer.

CONTEMPLACION continues—relates that Mary abode with Elizabeth during three months, till John was born, and that then Zachary & Elizabeth 'prophecyed,'

They made *Benedictus* them beforn,
& so *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*
ffyrst, in that place thei made worn.
whan all was don, our lady fre
Toke her' leve, than after this
At Elizabeth, & at Zakarie,
And kyssyd John, & gau hy' blys.

Now, most mekely we thank you of yowr pacyens,
& beseke yow, of your good supportac'on,
If her' hath he seyd, or do' any i'co'uenyens,
We assygne it, to yowr good deliberac'on;
Be sek'yn'ge, to crysts p'c'ous passyon,
Co'serue & rewarde yowr hedyr comy'ge,
With *Ave* we be gun'e, & *Ave* is our co'clusyon
Ave Regia celor to our lady we synge.

The Play concludes and ushers in the succeeding Pageant by the following sprightly address, which as a specimen of the language held by the Performers to their audiences is curious. In the last verse but one, there is a pretty clear intimation that the goodness of the playing was according to the liberality of the pay.

¶ A voyd sers! And lete my lorde the buschop come,
And syt in the courte, the lawes for to doo;
And I schal gon in this place, them for to somowne,
The that ben in my book, the court ye must com too.

¶ I warne yow her', all a bowte,
That I somown you, all the rowte,
Loke ye fayl, for no dowte,
At the court to 'per'.

Both John Jurdon', & Geffrey Gyle,
Malkyn Mylkedoke, & fayr Mabyle,
Stevyn Sturdy, & Jak at the style,
& Sawdyr Sadeler.

¶ Thom Tynker', & Betrys belle,
Peyrs Potter, & Whatt at the welle,
Symme Smalfeyth, & Kate Kelle,
& Bertylmew the bocher'.

Kytt cakeler, & Colett crane,
Gylle fetyse, & fayr Jane,
Powle pewter', & P'nel prane,
& Phelypp the good flecchcr.

¶ Cok crane, & Davy drydust,
Luce Lyer, & Letyce lytyl trust,
Miles the miller, & colle crake crust,
Bothe bette the baker, & Robyn Rede.

And loke ye rynge wele in yowr purs,
For ellys yowr cawse may spede the wurs,
Thow that ye slynge goddys curs,
Evy' at my' hede.

¶ Bothe Bontyng the browster', & Sybyly Slynge,
Megge Mery wedyr, & Sabyn Sprynge,
Tyffany Twynkeler, ffayle for no thynge,
ffast co' A way,
The courte schal be this day.

MYSTERY VII.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT* XIV.

THE TRIAL OF MARY AND JOSEPH.

TWO SLANDERERS introduce the simple story of this performance.

Prim. Detractor.—A! A! serys, God save yow all;
Her' is a fayr pepyl, in good fay.

* * * * * *

To reyse blawdyr is al my lay,
Bakbyter is my brother of blood.
¶ Dede he ought come hedyr in al this day;
Now wolde God that he wer her',
&, be my trewth, I dar' wel say,
That, if we tweyn, to gedyr aper',
Mor slawndyr we to schal a rer',
With in an howr', thorwe outh this town,
Than evyr ther was this thowsand yer,
& ellys I shrewe you, bothe vp & down.
¶ Now, be my trewth, I have a syght,
Euyn of my brother, lo wher he is:—
Welcom, der brother! my trowth I plyght,
Yowr jentyl mowth let me now kys.

S'c'dus Det'ctor.—Gramercy! brother, so have I blys;
I am ful glad we met this day,

1*st Detractor.*—Ryght so am I, brother, I wys,
moch gladder than I kan say.
¶ But yitt, good brother, I yow pray,
Telle, all these pepyl, what is yo' name:
For yf thei knew it, my lyf I lay,
They wole yow wurchep, & spek gret fame.
2*d Detractor.*—I am bakbyter, that spyllyth all game,
bothe hyd and knowyn, in many a place.
1*st Detractor.*—Be my trowth, I seyd the same;
& yet sum seyden thou shulde have evyl grace.
2*d Detractor.*—¶ Herk! reyse sclaundyr: canst thou owth telle
of any newe thynge that wrought was late?
1*st Detractor.*—With in a shorte whyle a thynge befelle,
I trowe thou wylt lawhg ryghtt wel ther ate,
ffor, be trowth, ryght mekyl hate,
If it be wyst, therof wyl growe.
2*d Detractor.*—If I may reyse ther with debate,
I schal not spar' the seyd to sowe.
1*st Detractor.*—Syr, in the tempyl, a mayd ther was,
Calde mayd Mary; the trewth to tell,
Sche seruyd so holy, with inne that plas,
men, seyd sche was fedde with holy A'ngell;
Sche made a vow with man nevyr to melle,
But to leve chast, & clene virgine,
How evyr it be, her wombe doth swelle,
& is as gret as thyne or myne.

They discourse for some time upon this news very wittily, but in terms not befitting modern refinement.

The Bishop, 'ABIZACHAR,' enters, with two Doctors of Law. They listen to part of the slander, and at last the Bishop says, 'Herke yé felawys,' and inquires why they defame the virgin's character—

I charge yow ses of your fals cry,
ffor sche is sybbe of my owyn blood.

2d Detractor.—¶ Syb of thi kyn thow that she be
All gret with chylde her wombe doth swelle;
Do calle her hedyr, thi self schal se,
That it is trewthe that I thee telle.
1st Detractor.—Ser, for yowr sake, I schal kepe cowncelle,
Yow for to greve I am ryght loth,
But list, syrs, lyst, what seyth the belle?
Our fayr mayd now gret with childe goth.
Princ. Doct. leg.—¶ Make good heed, sers, what ye doth say,
A vyse yow wele what ye p'sent,
Gyf this be fownde fals, anothyr day
fful sor' ye schal yowr tale repent.
2d Detractor.—Ser, the mayd, forsothe, is good, & gent,
Both comely, & gay, & a fayr wench;
And, feetly, with help, sche can consent,
To set a cokewolde on the hye benche.
Ep'us.—This ev'y' talys my hert doth greve,
Of hir' to her' suc'h fowle dalyawnce,
If she be fowndyn in such repreve,
She schal sore rewe her governawns.
¶ *Sym Somnor'*, in hast wend thou thi way,
Byd Joseph, and his wyff, be name,
At the coorte to apper this day,
Her' hem to pourge of her defame;
Sey that I her' of hem grett schame,
& that doth me gret hevynes,
If thei be clene, with owtyn blame,
byd hem come hedyr, & shewe wytt nes.
Den.—¶ All redy ser I schal hem calle,
Her' at yo' courte for to apper,
And, yf I may hem mete with all,
I hope ryght sone thei schal ben her.
A wey, sers! lete me com ner';
A man of wurchep her' comyth to place.
Of curtesy, me semyth, ye be to ler',
Do of yo' hodys, with an evyl grace!

¶ Do me su' wurchep be for my face,
or, be my trowth, I schal yow make
If that I rolle yow up in my race,
ffor fer I schal do yowr limbs qwake,
But yit su' mede, & ye me take,
I wyl with drawe my gret rough toth.
Gold, or sylvyr, I wyl not for sake,
But evyn as all somnors doth.
¶ A, Joseph! good day, with thi ffayr spowse;
my lorde, the buschop, hath for yow sent,
It is hym tolde that in thi' house
A cockolde is——
Maria.—¶ Of God, in hevyn, I take wyttnes,
That synful werk was nevyr my thought,
I am a mayd yit, of pur' clennes,
Lyke as I was in to this werd brought.
Den.—Othyr wyttnes shal non be sought;
Thou art with childe, eche man may se;
I charge yow bothe ye tary nought,
But, to the buschop, com forth, with me,
Joseph.—To the buschop, with yow, we wende;
Of our purgac'on hawe we no dowth.
Maria.—Almyghty God shal be our frende,
Whan the trewthe is tryed owth.
Den.—Ha! on this wyse, excusyth her', every scowte,
Whan her owyn synne hem doth defame;
But lowly therin thei gyn to lowth,
Whan thei be gylty, & fowndyn in blame.
Therfore com forth cokewolde——

THE SOM'NOR upbraids them further, and brings them before the Bishop, whom he thus addresses:

My lord, the buschop, her' haue I brought
This goodly copyl, at yo' byddyng;
&, as me semyth, as be her', fraught
ffayr chylde, lullay, sone must she syng.

1st Detractor.—To her a credyl & ye wolde brynge,
Ye myght saue mony in her purse,
be cawse she is your cosyn, (young) thynge,
I pray yow, ser, lete her nevyr far the wers.

Ep'us.—¶ Alas, Mary! what hast thou wrought?(a)
I am a schamyd evyn for thi sake
* * * *
Tell me who hath wrought this wranke,
How hast thou lost thi holy name?

Maria.—¶ My name, I hope, is saff and sownde,
God to wyttnes I am a mayd.
* * * *
Of ffleschly lust & gostly wownde
In dede nor thought I nevyr asayd.(b)

2d Doct. leg.—Herke thou, Joseph; I am afrayd
That thou hast wrought this opyn synne;(c)
This woman thou hast thus be trayd,
With gret flaterynge, or su' fals gynne.
* * * * * *

2d Detractor.—Now, be my trowth, ye hytte the pynne,
With that purpose in feyth I holde,
Tell now how thou thus hir dudyst wynne,
Or knowlych thi self ffor a cockewold?

Joseph.—Sche is, for me, a trewe clene mayde,
And I, for hir, am clene also;
Of ffleschly synne I nevy' asayde,
Sythyn that sch' was weddyd me to.(d)

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) PROTEVAN. xi.—6. Both she and Joseph were brought to their trial; and the priest said unto her, Mary, what hast thou done?

(b) 11. To which with a flood of tears she answered, As the Lord my God liveth, I am innocent in his sight, seeing I know no man.

(c) 12. Then the priest said to Joseph, Why hast thou done this?

(d) 13. And Joseph answered, as the Lord my God liveth, I have not been concerned with her.

Ep'us.—Thou schalt not schape from vs, yitt so,
ffyrst thou shalte tellyn us a nother lay,
Streyt to the awter thou shalt go,
The drynge of vengeawns ther to a say.
¶ Her is the botel of Goddys vengeauns; (a)
This drynk shall be now thi purgac'on;
This hath suche vertu, by Goddys ordenauns,
That what man drynk of this potac'on,
And goth (straightway) in p'cessyon,
Her' in this place this awter abowth,
If he be gylty, sum maculacion,
Pleyn in his face, schal shewe it owth.
[*hic Joseph bibit & sap'cies ecuiuit altar' dice's.*]

Joseph.—This drynk I take, with meke entent,
As I am gyltles, to God I pray;
Lord! as thou art omnypotente,
On me then shewe the trowth this day.
[*modo bibit.*]
About this awter I take the way;
O gracyous God help thi servaunt,
As, I am gyltles, a gen you may;
Thi hand of mercy, this tyme, me graunt.

Den.—This olde shrewe may not wele gon,
Longe he taryeth to go a bowth;
lyft up thi feet, set forth thi ton,
or, be my trewth, thou getyst a clowte.

JOSEPH is sorely upbraided and taunted, by the Som'nor and the Slanderers, whilst he paces round the altar.

[*Passage paralleled from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) PROTEVAN. xi.—17. But he wept bitterly, and the priest added, I will cause you both to drink the water of the Lord, which is for trial, and so your iniquity shall be laid open before you.

Joseph.—A, gracyous God! help me this tyde,
Ageyn this pepyl, that doth me defame,
As I nevyr more dede towche her syde,
This day help me, fro werdly schame,
Abowte this awter to kepe my fame.
¶ vij. tymes I haue gon rownd abowte,
If I be wurthy to suffyr blame,
O, ryghtful god! my synne shewe owughte.

Ep'us.—Joseph; with herte, thank god, thi lorde,
Whos hey' mercy doth the excuse;
ffor thi purgac'on we schal recorde,
With hyr, of synne, thou dedyst nev' muse;
But, Mary, thi self mayst not refuse,
All grett with chylde we se the stonde;
What mystyz man dede the mys vse?
Why hast thou synnyd A geyn thi husbonde?

Maria.—I trespacyd nevyr, with erthely wyght,
Therof I hope, th'owe goddys sonde,
Her to be purgyd, be for yo' syght,
From all synne clene, lyke as my' husbonde;
Take me the botel, out of yowr honde;
Her schal I drynke, beforn yowr face,
A bowth this awter than schal I fonde
vij tymes to go, by godys grace.

* * * * *

2d Doct. leg.—¶ With goddys hyg myght loke thou not rape,
Of thi purgac'on wel the a vyse;
Yf thou be gylty thou mayst not schape,
be war evyr of god that ryghtful justyce.
If God with vengeauns set on the his syse,
Not only thou; but all thi kyn is schamyd,
Bettyr it is to telle the trewth devyse,
Than God for to greve, & of hym be gramyd.

MARY drinks of the water of vengeance, and walks

around the altar, saying a prayer to God, which she concludes thus:

Gabryel me, with wordys, he be forn,
That ye, of your goodnes, would become my chylde;
Help now of your hyg-ness, my wurchep be not lorn,
A der' sone! I p'y yow, help yo' modyr mylde.

MARY receives no harm from the potation, and the High Priest, in astonishment, declares, that

Sche is clene mayde, both modyr and wyff!

The Slanderers suspecting some deceit, express dissatisfaction.

1*st Detractor.*—Be my fadyr sowle, her' is gret gyle;
be cause she is syb of yowr kynreed,
The drynk is chaungyd, by su' fals wyle,
That sche no shame shulde haue this steed.

The High Priest orders the Slanderer to drink of the same cup.

1*st Detractor.*—Syr, in good feyth, o draught I pulle,
If these to drinkers have not all spent.

He instantly becomes frantic from the draught; the Bishop and all present ask pardon of Mary for their suspicion and detraction, which she grants; she and Joseph congratulate each other; and the piece concludes.

MYSTERY VIII.

IN COTTON MS. *PAGEANT* XV.

THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH, AND THE MIDWIVES.

THE Play commences by Joseph acquainting Mary, that Octavian having demanded tribute to be 'cryed in every bourgh & cety be name,' he must 'sekyr-nedys' in 'Bedleem' by labor. (a) Mary says she will go with him, where she may perhaps find some of her kin.

Joseph.—My spowse ye be with childe; I fer yow to kary;
For, me semyth, it wer' werkys wylde:
But yow to plese, ryght fayn wold I;
Yitt women ben ethe to greve, whan thei be with childe.
Now latt us forth wend, as fast as we may,
& al myghty God spede us, in our jurnay.

MARY, while they are travelling, espies a tree, and inquires of Joseph,

A my swete husbond! wolde ye telle to me,
What tre is yon, standing vpon yon hylle?
Joseph.—For suthe Mary it is clepyd a chery tre;
In tyme of yer, ye myght ffede yow theron yowr fylle.

[*Passage paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) PROTEVAN. xii.—1. And it came to pass, that there went forth a decree from the Emperor Augustus, that all the Jews should be taxed, who were of Bethlehem, in Judæa.

Maria.—Turn a geyn, husbond, & be holde yon tre,
How that it blomyght, now, so swetly.
Joseph.—Cum on Mary, that we wern at yon Cyte,
or ellys we may be blamyd, I telle yow lythly.
Maria.—¶ Now my spowse, I pray yow to be hold
How the cheryes growyn vpon yon tre;
ffor to have them, of ryght, ffayn I wold,
& it plesyd yow to labor' so mec'h for me.
Joseph.—¶ Yo' desyr to ffulfylle I schall assay sekyrly:—
Ow! to plucke yow of these cheries, it is a werk wylde!
ffor the tre is so hy', it wol not be lyghtly
Y' for lete hy' pluk yow cheryes, be gatt yow with childe.
Maria.—¶ Now, good lord, I pray the, graunt me this bonn,
to haue of these cheries, & it be yo' wylle;
now, I thank it god, yis tre bowyth to me down,
I may now gader'y a nowe, & etyn my ffylle.

JOSEPH perceives, by the bowing down of the tree, that in speaking thus reproachfully to the Virgin, he has offended 'god i' trinyte,' and he humbles himself. Meeting 'Emes,' a citizen of Bethlehem, they are informed the city is full, on account of the persons resorting to pay tribute. Mary says,

Yondyr is an hous of haras, that stant be the wey,
Amonge the bestys, herberyd may ye be.

* * * * *

Maria.—In this por' logge my chawmer I take,
her for to A byde the blyssyd byrth
of hym, that all this werd dude make:—
be twyn my' sydys I fele he styrth.

Joseph accordingly brings her in. Mary requires him to depart, and he does so, telling her he will

'seke su' mydwyvys.' He meets two, whose help he desires for Mary, which they promise.

Salomee.—My name is Salomee, all men me knowe,
ffor a mydwyff of wurthy fame;
Whan women travayl grace doth growe,
There as I come I had nevyr shame.

Zelomye.—And I am Zelomye, men knowe my name,
We tweyn, with the, wyl go to gedyr,
& help thy wyff, fro hurt & grame,
Com forth, Joseph, go we streyth thedyr,

THE MIDWIVES, being alarmed at a great light within, decline entering. Joseph returns; inquires of Mary how she fares, and tells her the midwives are without, '& dar not come in for lyght that they se.'(a)

[*hic Maria subridendo dicat maria.*]

Maria.—The myght of the godhede, in his Mageste,
wyl not be hyd now, at this whyle;
The chylde that is born wyl p'ue his modyr fre,
A very clene mayde, & th'r for I smyle.

Joseph.—Why do ye lawghe, wyff, ye be to blame;
I pray yow, spowse, do no mor so;
In happ, the mydwyuys wyl take it to grame,
&, at yo' nede, helpe wele non do;
Iff ye haue nede of mydwyuys, lo,
P'auentur, thei wyl gon hens,
Yr for be sad, & ye may so,
And wynnyth all the mydwyuis good diligens.

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) PROTEVAN. xiv.—9. And the midwife went along with him, and stood in the cave.

10. Then a bright cloud overshadowed the cave, and the midwife said, This day my soul is magnified, for mine eyes have seen surprising things, and salvation is brought forth to Israel.

11. But on a sudden the cloud became a great light in the cave, so that their eyes could not bear it.

12. But the light gradually decreased, until the infant appeared, and sucked the breast of his mother Mary.

13. Then the midwife cried out, and said, How glorious a day is this, wherein mine eyes have seen this extraordinary sight!

14 And the midwife went out from the cave, and Salome met her.

Maria.—¶ Husbond, I p'y yow, dysplese yow nowth,
You that I lawghe & gret joye haue;
Her' is the chylde, this werde hath wrought,
born now of me, that all thynge schal saue.
Joseph.—I aske yow grace, for I dyde raue.
O gracyous childe! I aske mercy;
As thou art lord, & I but knaue,
ffor geue me now, my gret foly.
¶ Alas, mydwyuis! what haue I seyd?
I pray yow com to us mor' ner',
ffor her' I fynde my wyff a mayd,
&, in her arme, a chylde hath her'.
bothe mayd & modyr sch' is, in ffer
That gode wole haue, may nevyr mor' fayle,
Modyr on erth was nevyr non cler,
With owth sche had, in byrth, travayle.
Zelomy.—¶ In byrth, travayle must sche nedys haue,
Or ellys no chylde of her' is born.
Joseph.—I pray yow, dame, & ye vow'ch sa'ue,
com se the chylde, my wyff beforn.
Salome.—¶ Grete god be in this place!
swete systyr, how far ye?
Maria.—I thank the fadyr, of his hyg grace,
His owyn son, & my chylde, her' ye may se.
Zelomy.—¶ All heyl Mary! & ryght good morn!
Who was mydwyfe of this ffayr chylde?
Maria.—he, that no thynge wyl leaue for lorn,
Cent me this babe, & I mayd mylde.
Zelomy.—¶ With honde lete me now towch and fele.
Yf ye haue nede of medycyn,
I xal yow comforte, & help ryght wele,
As other women, yf ye haue pyn.
Maria.—¶ Of this fayr byrth, that her is myn,
Peyne ner grevynge fele I ryght non;
I am clene mayde, & pure virgyn,
Tast with yo' hand, yo' self a lon.
[*hic palpat Zelomye beatam v'ginem dicens.*]

ZELOMY is satisfied that 'a fayre chylde of a maydon is born,' and 'his modyr nott hurte of virgynite.'

Salome—¶ It is not trewe, it may nevyr be,
That bothe be clene I can not be leve.
A mayd's mylke nev' man dyde se,
Ne woman ber' chylde, with owte grett greve.

[*hic tangit Salomee Marie, & cu' arescerit man' ei' vlulando & quasi flendo dicit.*]

SALOMEE exclaims, that for her unbelief her hand is 'ded, & drye, as claye,' and 'styff, as a stykke.'(a) She prays to God to be relieved, reminding him of her alms and other good deeds.(b) This draws down an angel, who desires her to worship the child, and to touch his clothes.(c) She goes to Mary, and asks forgiveness, who repeats the angel's request,

[*hic Salomee tangit fimbriam Christi dicens,*]

and her hand is immediately restored.(d)

[*Passages paralleled; from the* Apoc. N. Test.]

(a) PROTEVAN. xiv.—18. ¶ Then Salome went in, and the midwife said, Mary, shew thyself, for a great controversy is risen concerning thee.
19. And Salome received satisfaction.
20. But her hand was withered, and she groaned bitterly,
21. And said, Wo to me, because of mine iniquity; for I have tempted the living God, and my hand is ready to drop off.

(b) Then Salome made her supplication to the Lord, and said, O God of my fathers, remember me, for I am of the seed of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.
23. Make me not a reproach among the children of Israel, but restore me sound to my parents.
24. For thou well knowest, O Lord, that I have performed many offices of charity in thy name, and have received my reward from thee.

(c) PROTEVAN. xiv.—25. Upon this an angel of the Lord stood by Salome, and said, The Lord God hath heard thy prayer, reach forth thy hand to the child, and carry him, and by that means thou shalt be restored.

(d) 28. And straightway Salome was cured.

THE MIDWIVES take their leave, SALOMEE declaring that,

In every place I schal telle this,
Of a clene mayde that god is born;
&, in our lyknes, god now clad is,
Mankend to save that was for lorn;
his modyr a mayde, as sche was beforn;
Natt fowle polutyd, as other women be,
but fayr, & fresch, as rose on thorn,
Lely whyte, clene with pur virginyte.

END OF COVENTRY MYSTERIES,
FROM APOCRYPHAL STORY.

Illustrations and Additions.

"Sir,—it is the great excellence of a writer to put into his book as much as his book will hold." *Johnson to Boswell.*

I.—COUNCIL OF THE TRINITY.

"The common definition of man is false: he is not a reasoning animal. The best you can predicate of him is, that he is an animal capable of reasoning." *Warburton.*

¶ Speculum Vitae Christi: the boke that is clepid the Mirrour of the blissed lyfe of our lorde Jhu cryste.

A FOLIO volume in MS., written on vellum and bearing the above title, is in my possession. It gives an account of a great Council in heaven, which from the ensuing extracts will appear similar to that in *Mystery* IV.(*) In some instances the language of each is almost literally alike; in others, that of the MS. is more amplified. After various opinions during a long discussion between Mercye, Sothfastnes, Pees, and Rytewisnes, concerning the means of making satisfaction for the sinful fall of man, 'Pees,' proposed that 'for a fynal dome in this matyr, let be made a gode dethe of man, so that one be fo'nden withouten synne, that may & wolle innocently, & for charite, suffre deth for man.' To this they all assented, and 'thei askeden amonge hemself whether that one myght be founden that schulde fulfille and do this dede of charite.'

'Than Mercye toke with hur Reson, & sought amonge alle

(*) Page 38, ante.

the ordres of Aungeles in heuen, to se whether eny of hem wer' able to do this dede; bot there was none. Also Sothfastnes sought fro heuen to the clowdes bynethen, whether ther were eny creatur that myght p'forme it; & thei weren alle vnable. Ryghtwisnes went down to erthe, & sought amonge the hyghe hilles, & into the depe pytte of helle, whether ther weren eny man that myght take this good & innocent dethe; but ther was none fo'nden clene of synne, ne not the childe of one dayes birthe.'

Upon this they were greatly grieved:—'than seyd pees wot ye not wele that the p'phet that seyde ther' is none foundin that may done gode; afterward he potteth to more, & seith, till it com to one; this on man may be he that gafe the sentence aforsaide of man'es saluacion. Wher'fore prey we hym that he wol help & fulfille it in dede; for to hym speketh the p'phete aftre in the forseyd psalme, saying, Lorde thou schalt saue man, and bestowe aftre thi mykel mercy. Bot than was a question amonge the sustres, commyttid to Reson for to determyn, which p'sone of thre, Fader, & Sonn, & holi goste, one Gode, schulde be com man' & do this m'cyfull dede. Then seyde Reson, that, for als mykell as the p'son of the fader is propurly dredfull & myghty, the p'son of the son alle wyse and witty, ande the p'sone of the holi goste most benygne and godely, the seconde p'son semeth moste conuenient. ¶ Ande, whan Reson had seyd this verdyt, the Fader seide it was his wille that it schulde be soe, the Son gaffe gladly his assent therto, ande the holi goste seide he wolde worcke ther to also. And than fallyng downe alle the holi spirits of heuen, and sou'eynly thonking the Holi Trinite, the four sustres aforsed weren kyssed ande made accorde.'

The MS. proceeds to relate 'what Seynt Jerome, wrytyng of hir life, seyd' concerning the religious education and exercises of the Virgin Mary in the temple, after she was left there at three years of age by her parents. It then relates that:—

'Whan plente of the tyme of g'ce was com'en, in the whiche the hyghe trinite ordeyned to save manky'de, that was dampned throughe the synne of Adam; for the grete charite that he hadde to man'kynde, stirying hym in his g'te m'cye, & also the prayer,

& the inst'ance of alle the blissed spirits of heuen, aft' that the blissed maiden marie wedded to Joseph, was gone home to Nazareth, the fader of heuen called to hym the Archangele Gabriel, and seyd to hym in this maner;—goo to our der' dought' marye the spouse of Josep, the which is most cher to vs of alle creatures in erthe, and saye to hir, that my blissed son hathe coueyted hir schappe and hir bewte, & chose hir to his moder, & th'fore praye hir that sche resceyue hym gladly; for, by hir, I haue ordeyned the hele & the saluacion of all' man'kynde;—& I wole forgete & forgyue the wronge that hath be' done to me of hym her' before. ¶ And so, anone, Gabriel rysyng vp gladde & ioycunde, toke his fleyte fro' the hyghe heuen to erthe; ande in a moment he was in mannes licknes byfore the virgyn marie, that was in hir pryue chan'ber that tyme closed, & in hir p'yers or in hir meditacions, p'auentur' redying the p'phecye of ysaye touchyng the Incarnacion. And yit also, swyftly as he flowe, his lorde was come byfore, & he fonde alle the holy trinite comen or his message. For thou schalt vndirstonde that this blissed Incarnacion was the highe werke of alle the holi trinite, thoughe it be that only the p'sone of the son was incarnate & bycome man. ¶ Bot now be warr her', that thou erre not in ymagynacion, th'fore take her' a gen'ale doctryne in this meter, now what tyme thou herest, or thinkest, of the trinyte, or of the godhed, or of gostly creatures, as aungels & soules, the which thou maiste not see with thi bodely eyze, and thi proper kynd, ne fele with thi bodely wytte, streyne not to ferre in that mat'er, occupye not thi wytte thererwith, as thou woldest undirstonde it by kyndely resonne, for it wil not be, while we be in this b'ustouse body, liuynge her' in erthe. And, th'fore, whan thou herest eny suche thinge, in by leue that passeth thi kyndely reso'ne, trowe, sothfastly, that is sothe as holi chirche techeth, & go now forth & so thou schalte byleue.'

After the salutation, which is detailed at great length, the angel requests Mary's consent to become 'goddes moder,' which she complies with.

'Anone withoute dwellyng goddes son entred into hir wombe, and, throwgh worcking of the holi goste, was made man, in ver-

rey flesch & blode, taken of hir body, ande, not as othe' children, conceyued & born by kynde bene schapen, membre aft' membre, ande aft' the soule sched into the bodye, bot anon, at the firste insta'nce, he was full schappe in alle membris, and alle hole man in body & soule, but, never the les, ful lytel in quantite; for aft' he waxed more & more kyndely than oth' children done: so that, at the fyrste, he was full perfyte god and man, as wyse ande as mygty as he is nowe. Ande, when this was done, Gabriel, knelynge downe with our ladye, &, sone aft', with hir rysyng vp, toke curteysly his leue of hir, with a devoute & a lowe bowyng to the erthe.'

According with the above account of the incarnation is the information in Erasmus's Exposition of the Creed, that 'the relygyouse contemplacyon of good & godly men hathe taughte—that the holye ghoste toke one of the moste purest droppes of bloode out of the vergine Maries herte, and layde it downe into her matrice; and that hereof, sodeynly, was made the perfighte body of a man, soo smalle as is a lytle spyder whiche is but euen now cropen forthe from the egee, but yet with all the membres fulle fynysshed and perfyght; and that, in the same momente, a soule was infused and putte into it, beynge euen verye than, forthewith, as perfyghte in all powers and qualytyes, as it is now in heuen.'(a)

If this, and the last paragraph extracted from the MS. be compared with the scene in the *Mystery*,(b) the similitude between the curious narration in each will be as apparent as that between the Council of the Trinity in the *Mystery* and the same event in the *Speculum Vitæ Christi*.

(a) Erasmus on the Crede, 8vo. 1533. art. the Descent.

(b) Page 44, ante.

II.—THE BRETHREN OF THE HOLY TRINITY, OF ST. BOTOLPH WITHOUT ALDERSGATE.

" The fourme of the Trinity was founden in Manne, that was Adam our forefadir, of earth oon personne; and Eve, of Adam, the secunde persone; and of them both was the third persone. At the deth of a manne three Bellis shulde be ronge, as his knyll, in worscheppe of the Trinetee; and for a womanne, who was the secunde persone of the Trinetee, two Bellis should be rungen."

Ancient Homily for Trinity Sunday.

An Episode is often pleasant to the bystander, and always to the person making it; with whom it is sometimes the consequence of a sudden recollection—'this puts me in mind of that:' so, while writing the last article of the Council of the Trinity in Heaven, I was reminded of a Guild of the Holy Trinity of the City of London. If the reader please he may look at the following account of it; if he have no taste for such matters I am sorry for it; he can pass to something more likely to amuse him, and I apologize for the interruption.

This fraternity of the Holy Trinity was founded in the *forty-eighth* year of Edward III. 1373, in honour of the body of Christ, and to maintain *thirteen wax lights*, burning about the sepulchre in the time of Easter in the said Church, and to find a Chaplain. Their chief day of solemnity was on Trinity Day to hear Mass in honour of the body of Christ, and of the Holy Trinity, and to make their offerings.—The Brotherhood consisted of a Messuage House and Tenement called Trinity Hall, otherwise the common Hall of the Fraternity or Guild of the Holy Trinity, founded in the Church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, and also eight Messuages and Tenements, commonly called *The Trinity*, also situate beneath

Trinity Hall.[a] So far this is Stow's account; to which may be added that, in Catholic worship *thirteen Candles* are an allegory of Christ and the twelve apostles, and that in one of its ceremonies, the twelve candles denoting the twelve apostles are extinguished at intervals during successive parts of the service, until one only is left which represents Christ deserted by the disciples, and in the end that one is put out to signify his death.[b]

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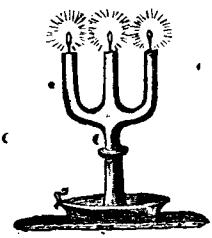
[a] Stow's London, vol. i. p. 613, &c.

[b] '*The Evening-Office of the Holy Week which the Church performs on Wednesday, Thursday, & Friday before Easter*, 1760,' 8vo., of which I have a copy in my possession, marked '*Ex Bibliothecâ* F. F. MIN. *Angl. Londini*,' contains the signification of certain *candles*. 'In the Evening of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the Church performs a solemn office called *Tenebræ*.—The name of *Tenebræ* is given to it from the ceremony of extinguishing all the *candles* during the course of it, till at last it is finished in total darkness; which is the signification of the word *Tenebræ*.—The six candles on the altar, and the *fifteen candles* on the Epistle side, all burning at the beginning of the Office, signify the light of faith preached by the prophets and Jesus Christ: of which Faith the fundamental article is *the Mystery of the* BLESSED TRINITY, *represented by the* TRIANGULAR CANDLESTICK. At the repetition of the fourteen Antiphons in the matins and lauds, *fourteen* of the candles in the triangular candlestick are extinguished; and at the six last verses of the Benedictus, those on the altar are put out; to teach us that the Jews were totally deprived of the light of faith when they put our Saviour to death. But the *fifteenth candle*, that represents the light of the world, Jesus Christ, is only hidden for a time under the altar, and afterwards brought out again still burning, to signify that though Christ, according to his humanity, died and was laid in the sepulchre, yet he was always alive, according to his divinity, by which he raised his body again to life.' The darkness, signifies the darkness at the crucifixion; and 'the *noise made* at the end of the Prayer, represents the confusion of nature for the loss of its author.'

As in the above ceremonial the Trinity is represented by a triangular *candlestick*, so also it is represented by a triangular *candle*. An engraving by Galle, figures the *triangular candle* as standing in a candlestick held by an Angel. I subjoin from recollection a sketch of this representation of the Trinity.



From the Chartulary of this religious Guild in my possession, I am enabled to relate the following particulars concerning it.

The volume commences with the Romish Calendar on Vellum, in which are marked obytes of the brethren. It is followed by the statutes of the Order: one ordains, that the priest shall be charged by the wardens of the year, for to do his mass, winter and summer, by five o'clock, 'sayinge by fore masse, duly, a Memorie of the Trynytee:' another directs, 'that in the sunday next aft' alle sowlen day, the preste schal rede openlyche, stondynge in the pulpyte, alle the names of the bretheren and the sustren that ben on lyue.' A 'dirige' was also ordained on the Sunday night after 'alle sowlen day,' and on the morrow a requiem for the dead 'bretheren and sustren,' at which each brother and sister should attend and offer 'an halfe-peny,' or be 'vppon peyne of a pounde of wexe.' It was directed, 'Also, gif eny of the bretherhode be a losed of eny thefte, or he be an comm' contekour, or com'n hasardour, or of eny oth' wycked fame, wherfore by, that the co'pany may ben a apayred, or defamed, it is ordeyned that thei ben yputte oute of the breth'hode.' It was further ordained that the priest should have 'for his lyflode' ten marks' annually, and 'an dowble hode of the colour of the breth'hode;' And also 'that he be meke and obedient vnto the qwer' in alle diuine seruyces dvrynge hys t'me, as custome is in the citee amonge alle othe' p'stes.' The statutes are succeeded by lists of the brothers and sisters in different years. The first list is preceded by the form of the Priest's address, on reading their names, in the following words: 'Gode bretheren and susteren: it is forto weten and knowen, that the bygynnynge of this bretherhode of grete deuocio'n, eu'y ma' paynge a peny, forto fynde xiij taperes about the sepulcre of c'ste at Estre, in the chirche of seynt Botulphe, withoute Alderesgate, in Loundon. Aft' that, throug'e more gretter deuocio'n, & sterynge vnto the worschippe of god, it' was yturne in' to a frat'nyte of The Holy Trynyte, nougt with stondynge the fyndynge eu'y yere, the may'tenynge of the forsayde xiij taper's; of the whiche breth'hode thes' were thei.'—Then before the names, is this notice; 'At

the bygynnynge of this frat'nyte, the whiche was bygun'e in the yere of kynge Edwarde the thredde, *one and fyfty*[a] thes weren the bygy'neres th'of, and maysteres, & gou'nour's, for the first yer'; that is to sayen:—PHILIPPUS AT VYNE; AGNES, *vx'. eius;* JOH'ES BOCKYNGE. These betheth names of the bretheren, & the susteren, the whiche entreden in to the forsayde brether-hode, i' her tyme.' The names of fifty-three 'bretheren,' and twenty-nine 'susteren,' immediately follow.

In the lists of this fraternity I find in the 10th year of Henry IV., the names of 'Thos' de Berkyng, Abbas de Seynt Osyes. Joh'es Roos, Armiger. Galfra' Paynell, Armiger. D'us Joh'es Watford, P'or s'ti' Barthi'. D'us Joh'es Yonge, supp'or' s'ti' Barthi'. Ric's Lancastre, Rex de Armis. Kat'ina, vx' ej'. Ric's Haye Armig'. Joh'a, vx' ej'. Will's Yrby, Armiger P'or' s'ti Barthi'. Ric's Maydestone, Armig. Will's Mounsewe, Armig'i, cu' Counte de Westm'land. Rob's Strangweys, Armiger, *ibid.* Rogerus Audelby, Rector de White Chapell. Will's Lasyngby, Armig. D'us Joh'es Newport, Rector de Grascherche.' In the 2 Henry V. 'Ric'us Derh'm, Ep'us landau'' was the Master of the Brotherhood.

In the Volume are copies of the grants, charters, patents, feoffments, wills, and other securities for the property of which the brotherhood were seized; besides their own deeds of transfer, leases, and agreements. These Entries shew that the landed property of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, consisted of houses in Aldersgate-street, the Barbican, Lamb-alley, Fanchurch-street, and Long-lane; one of these was held on the annual payment of a rose, others in fee. They were proprietors of the Saracen's head inn, and the Falcon on the hoop brewery. In the 14th year of king Richard II., Sir Rauff Kesteven, parson of St. Botolph, and the two Churchwardens, granted a lease for twenty years to John Hertyshorn of the Saracen's head, with the appurtenances, at the yearly rent of ten marks; the appurtenances were two houses adjoining on the north side, and were included in that

[a] Stow says, the *forty-eighth* year of Edward III.

rental as worth eight shillings each by the year, and one on the south side, was valued at ten shillings. 'In the xxj yer of kyng Harry the vj^te,' the bretheren received, 'For the rent of ij yere of Wyll'm Wylkyns, for the Sarresyn head v. *li.* vjs. viij*d.*—paynge by the yer liijs. iiij*d.*' and 'of the Faucon on the hope, for the same ij yer vi. *li.* that is to say, payng' by the yer' iij *li*;' but the same year they demised the Falcon brewhouse to Robert Halle and John Walpole, brewers, for four years, at eighty-four shillings per annum. Six years before, there is, in the churchwardens' accounts, an item for 'kerving and peinting of the seigne of the faucon, vi s.'

Some of the personals of this fraternity are interesting. By 'Bille endented, made the xviij day of Juyn' the iij^de yere of kyng Edwarde the iiij^th,' the then master and wardens acknowledge to have received from the then late master and wardens, the goods thereinafter described, among which are the following items:

'A myssall, newe bounde, with derys leder, garnysshed wyth sylk; whereof the seconde lefe begynneth, *Asp'git aqua bened'ta,* with claspys & burdons, weying iiij *vnc.*' iij *c'r't* and a half.

'A chaleys of sylver & gilt, with a crucifyx' in the fote & a pateyn' to the same, with The Trinite[a] enamelyd, weying xxv *vnc'.*

'It. Rolle of velom', cou'ed with a goldeskyn, contenyng diu'se pagent's paynted and lemenyd with gold, that is to say, of The Holy Trinite, Seynt Fabyan, and Seynt Sebastyan, & Seynt Botulff;

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a 'For the Trinity, Holy Church hath chosen to make the similitude of the father, an olde man with a long gray beard: and for the sonne, a man hanging on the crosse: and for knowledge of the holie Ghost, a dove.'—*The Beehive of the Romishe Church,* Lond. 1579, 8vo. p. 192.

'*God the Father,* having formerly appeared as the *Ancient of Days,* we may paint him in that form now. *The Son* took upon him human nature, and so may be represented as a *Man.*' The *Holy Ghost* sometimes appeared in the form of a *Dove,* at another like tongues of fire. Those who by colours, artificially disposed, represent the *Trinity* under such figures as these, do nothing but what the authority of Scripture permits and commands.'—*Sander. de Ador. Imag.* l. i. c. 4. (*Conformity between Ancient and Modern Ceremonies. Lond.* 1745. 8vo. p. 185.)

The Cathedral Church of Norwich is dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Before

and the last pagent of the terement, & gen'all obyte, of the brether'n, & suster'n, that be passed to god; with clayne obseruances & prayers, *to stere the peple to the more devocion* TOWARD' THE SEYDE BRETHERHODE.

'A keybande of derys leder, wyth a keveryng of cheverell, wyth purses thereuppon', garnysshed, conteyning iij keyes, made and ordeyned alwey to be in the kepyng of the maist' for the tyme beyng, accordyng to the statut's and ordenaunces thereof made, as it apperith in this blake boke, the xxxj lefe.'

Then there is the description of the last mentioned book: namely, 'A Blake Registre Boke, with a kalender, in the which is writen the dedes, testament's, wylles, evidences, & other writyng's conc'nyng' the lyvelode of the breth'hode; & there registred for the well & more surete of the same.' This *Blake Registre Boke* is that from which I am transcribing.

The annual accounts of this brotherhood evidence the pains they took to entice people by their exhibitions. As the beginning of the fraternity grew out of the glare of thirteen wax tapers, they kept up these lights by the following statute: 'Also there ben ordeyned xiii tapers of wex, and eu'y taper of sex pounde of wex, with dysches of pewtere, accordynge th'to, forto brenne about the sepulcr' on estres eue', & estres day, al so longe as the mane' es in' holy chirche.' They always had store of wax. They enjoined attendance at mass 'vpon peyne of a pound of wex;' on the transfer of their gear from the old to the new wardens, their 'paynted cofres' and 'spruce chests' conteyned 'long tapers, short tapers, long torchys, short torchys,' and 'wex;' they always 'gadyred' of the people for 'lygth,' and there are nume-

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the Reformation, the *imago principalis*, the principal image in the road loft, now the organ loft, was an image of the *Holy Trinity*, which was represented by a weak old man, with Christ on the cross between his knees, and a dove on his breast; this image was richly gilt. In 1443, Rob. Norwych, Esq. gave to it his silver collar which was presented to him by the emperor; and in 1499, Lady Margaret Shelton put about it a gold chain of 25 SS. weighing eight ounces, with four small jewels, one great jewel, and a rich enamelled rose in gold, hanging thereon.—*Blomefield's Norwich*, 1806, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 29.

rous charges 'for the makyng of *the* BRAUNCHE *byforne* ꝑ *Trinyte, and waste of wex.*'

Perhaps the *branch* was that which, also in olden time, was called a '*Jesse,*' from a block of wood being carved into the figure of a man, representing Jesse, lying on his back, with a tree or branch growing out of the stomach, as genealogies are sometimes drawn. The carver's 'Jesse,' was a personification of 'There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a *Branch* shall grow out of his roots.' (Isaiah, xi. 1.)

> From Jesse's root behold a *branch* arise,
> Whose sacred flower with fragrance fills the skies;
> Th' ætherial spirit o'er its leaves shall move,
> And on its top descend the mystic dove. *Pope.*

The 'Jesse' was a distinguished ornament in old pageants and shows: when introduced into churches, the *branch* was filled with lighted tapers; and, hence, perhaps, the cluster of brass candlesticks in a church is still called the *branch.*

In the accounts of the wardens of this brotherhood for 'the x yer of king Harry the vi^te,' there is the charge of an 'item, to the wexchaundeler', for making of the sepulcr', lyght iij tymes, and of other *dyuers lyghts, that longyn to* ꝑ *Trinite, in dyu's places in the chirche,* lvijs. xd.'—a large sum in those times, and must have produced a prodigious illumination.

From the third century when, besides adopting other pagan ceremonies, 'they also lighted torches to the martyrs in the day-time as the heathens did to their gods,'[a] the use of torches and tapers in churches, both by day and night, has prevailed in Catholic worship to the present hour; and Catholic allegorists have contrived to spiritualize these burning ornaments of their temples for the edification of the devout. According to their account, candles or tapers represent Christ; the wax, signifies his flesh; the fire, his deity; the wick, his humanity; the light, his doctrine. The wick further signifies humility; the moulded wax, obedience; the

[a] Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, 4to. p. 207.

flame, the love of God. Also, the wax and wick represent body and soul; and the light, the shining of the faith.[a]

This brotherhood of the Trinity contributed their share to the vulgar gratification of the deluded people in other ways. For the years from the 'xxj to the xxvth yer' of Reyn'g of kyng harry the vj^{te},' there are charges 'for p'stis hir', for repa'c'ons, for costis *on the* Trynyte Sonday, *& on the evin*, for mete & drynk, & *Stately Clothes, mynstrelles, synger's*' &c. Their inventories evidence that they knew how to get up popular shows and entertainments; they had 'pillows of silke, reed and yellow knotts, banner clothes, a blake palle of blake damaske with a white crosse, a stayned bordere with the fyve wondys of owre lorde, and a border of blak with the kyng's armys and estryge ffethers conteyning' in len'th iij ell's iij q'rt'rs.' Doubtless these fripperies were borne in their public processions, for one of which there is a positive statute in these words:—'Also gif it by falle, that eny of the breth'hede falle seeke, fyue myle eche wayes aboute London',

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[a] Some one who had a spite against St. Kentigern, put out all the fires in his monastery, whereupon he snatched a green hazel bough, and in the name of the *Holy Trinity* blessed it and blowed upon it, and immediately by fire sent from Heaven the bough produced a great flame, and he lighted the *candles* for the vigils, 'wherefore the light ceased from the wood.'—*Capgrave Vit. S. Kentig.* f. 208. (*Patrick's Refleet. on Devot. of Romish Church*, 8vo. 1674, p. 357.)

2. February *(Candlemas Day)* is called '*Candle*mas, because before mass is said that day, the church blesses her *candles* for the whole year, and makes a procession with hallowed or blessed candles in the hands of the faithful.'—*Posey of Prayers, or the Key of Heaven*, 1799, 18mo. p. 15.

The Church ordained, that lighted tapers should be carried upon *Candlemas day*, in order to avail itself of a custom continued from the ancient Romans, who marched in procession, with lighted tapers and candles, in honour of *Februa*, the mother of Mars, the God of War; and sacrificed to *Februus*, Pluto, the God of Hell, that he might be merciful to the souls of their friends. The Roman women on the same day kept the Feast of *Candles*, in honour of Proserpine, who was so beautiful, that Pluto carried her off, and her parents sought her in Hell, with lights and tapers. Pope Sergius adopted this practice by ordaining 'that Christians should, upon this day, walk round the Church with consecrated tapers in their hands, lighted up to the honour of the Mother of God.'—*The Legend*, Fr. (Conf. A. & M. Cer. p. 113.)

and dyeth there, that gif the wardaynes of that yere ben ysent aft', than it is ordeyned that thei schullen wende, and fecche home the body, to London'; and that alle the bretheren be redy, at her warnynge, and go agens the body, with outen the citee, townes ende, for to bry'ge the body in to the place, with worschyppe." These were means that they seem to have used, according to their own words '*to stere the peple to the more devocion* TOWARD THE BRETHERHODE.' Of pure devotion towards the Supreme Being, they appear to have been wholly ignorant.

No portion of Scripture was ever possessed by this fraternity; for the volume repeatedly registers their entire property at different periods, and mentions nothing of the kind except their 'myssall;' most likely overlaid by prayers to the saints, notices of indulgences for sin, and pictures of unedifying superstitions. To be sure there was their '*Rolle of velom with the Pagent of* The Holy Trinite, *paynted and lemenyd with gold*,' and the annual charge for making the branch and lighting it up; but whatever Holy Trinity was *lemenyd* on this *Pagent*, it is impossible to suppose that such a display could suggest an idea of Him, who is a Spirit. There is, however, a figure which may have been that upon their pageant. It frequently occurs.[a] 'They in their churches, and Masse bookes, doe paint the TRINITIE WITH THREE FACES: for our mother the holie Church did learne *that* at Rome, where they were wont to paint or carve Janus with two faces. And then further, there is written in John, that *there are three in heaven which beare witnesse, the Father, the Worde, and the Holie ghost; and these three are one*, &c.[b] then, of necessitie, they must be painted with THREE HEADES, OR THREE FACES, UPON ONE NECKE.'[c]

I insert an engraving of this Trinity, in all respects the same as a smaller one, an initial in the Salisbury Missal of 1534, fo. viii.

[a] In Enchirid. Ecclesii Sarum, Paris, 1528, 24mo. vol. i. fol. xiiii.; in various other editions; and in the Horæ B. V. Maria continually; besides MS. Missals, Lyndewood's Provinciale, &c.

[b] 1 John, V. 7.

[c] Beehive of the Romishe Church, *Lond.* 1579, 8vo. p. 191.

The *triangle* in this cut, 'a Trinity *argent* on a shield *azure*,' was the arms of Trinity Priory, Ipswich, and is figured in *Mr. Taylor's Index Monasticus*, (Diocese, Norwich,) 1821, fol. p. 96.—May not the triune head have been originally suggested by the three headed Saxon deity named *Trigla*? There is a wood cut of a triune headed Lucifer in Dante, ed. Venice, 1491, fol. copied by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin in his *Ædes Althorpianæ*, vol. ii. p. 116.

John Heywood, in his 'Four P's, a very merry Enterlude of a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Poticary, and a Pedler,' brings in the Palmer relating that in his pilgrimages he has been at different parts of the world, and in enumerating them he says,

At *Saint Botulphe* and Saint Anne of Buckstone
* * * *
Praying to them to pray for me
Unto *the blessed Trinitie.**

This was either the Priory of the Holy Trinity of St. Botolph without Aldgate, or our Brethren of the Holy Trinity of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. Heywood, though a stern Roman Catholic, exposes with the humour of Uliespiegel the tricks played on the credulous fondness of the ignorant for reliques, and ridicules the greediness and craft of the preaching friars in their pious frauds. He makes the Pardoner produce 'the blessed Jawbone of *All-halowes,*' on which the Poticary swears

—by All-halowe, yet methinketh
That All-halowe's *breath* stinkith.

Pardoner.

Nay sirs, beholde, heer may ye see
The great toe of the *Trinitie.*
Who to this toe any money vowth,
And once may role it in his mouth,
All his life after, I undertake,
He shall never be vext with the tooth ake.

By the turn given to the Poticary's answer, it seems likely that Heywood had in his eye the figure with the three heads in one.

Poticary.

I pray you turn that relique about:
Either the Trinity had the gout,
Or els, because it is *three toes in one,*
God made it as much as three toes alone.*

* Dodsley's Old Plays, edit. 1744, vol. i. p. 88.

The Pardoner bids that pass, and climaxes the absurdity by presenting the 'buttock-bone of *Pentecost*.'[a] Gross as all this is, Heywood had as little design to scandalize the belief of his own church, as his patron, Sir Thomas More, had by his philosophical romance of Utopia. He was a great favourite with Queen Mary, and on the restoration of the Protestant ascendancy with Elizabeth, he fled from his native country to secure the exercise of his faith without hazard to his life, and died in exile.[b]

Personifications of the supreme attributes have been accommodated to popular understanding in almost every possible way from the earliest ages. By an inquirer into the ancient worship of the Deity under the grossest form that, to apprehension in these times can be represented by the artist, the English reader is acquainted with two statues at the temple of Hierapolis, representing the *active productive Power*, and the *passive productive Power*. 'Between both was a third figure with a dove on his head, which some thought to be Bacchus. This was the Holy Spirit, the first begotten Love or plastic Nature (of which the Dove was the image when it really deigned to descend upon Man),[c] proceeding from and consubstantial with *Both;* for all *Three* were but personifications of *One*.'[d] Although it is rather foreign to my purpose, yet it is not a departure from the subject, to mention a curious anecdote which Bishop Patrick says is gravely related by the biographers of St. Clara de Monte Falconis:—that after her death, there was found in her gall a plain testimony of the Holy Trinity, consisting of three balls of equal figure, colour, and size, and of equal weight, one weighing the weight of two and also of three, yet all three weighing no more than one.[e]

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[a] Dodsley's Old Plays, edit. 1744, vol. i. p. 101.

[b] Ritson's Bibliog. Poetica, p. 242. From whence it appears that Heywood died at Mechlin in 1544. He evidently took his 'Four P's' from the Pardoner's tale by Chaucer.

[c] ['Matt. c. iii. ver. 17.']

[d] A Discourse, &c. by Richard Payne Knight, Esq. London: printed by Spilsbury, 4to. 1786. p. 146.

[e] Patrick on Devot. of Rom. Church, p. 273.

A desire of relieving the reader's tædium may possibly excuse a wider deviation. It is well known that the personality of the Devil has been exemplified by extraordinary personifications of him, and by relations of his appearance under almost every form; but a personation that he is represented to have assumed in Hertfordshire, is accompanied by circumstances that have never, perhaps, been paralleled. In turning over John Bagford's collection of Title-pages at the British Museum, (Harl. MSS. 5419), I find one in his own writing, from a tract that must have been so rare at that time, that he could not possess it, or his collecting hand would have mercilessly torn off the title-page; and I suspect it to have been almost, if not quite unique, for its existence is not now traceable by me after very long and diligent inquiry. Although, therefore, I can do no more than lay before the reader the following copy that I made from Bagford's copy, yet that is sufficient to inform him of all that he can perhaps ever know of the alleged event. Here it is:—

'THE DEVIL seen at St. ALBAN'S. Being a true relation, how the Devil was seen there, in a Cellar, in the likenesse of a Ram: and how a butcher came and cut his throat, and sold some of it, and dressed the rest for him, inviting many to supper, who eat of it.

'Attested by divers letters of men of very good credit in this towne.

'Printed for confutation of those that believe there are no such things as spirits or devils. 4to. 1648.'

III. CHRISTMAS CAROLS.

The lewid pepl̀e than algates agre,
And caroles singen everi' criste messe tyde,
Not with schamfastenes bot jocondle,
And holey bowghes aboute; and al asydde
The brenning fyre hem eten, and hem drinke,
And laughen mereli, and maken route,
And pype, and dansen, and hem rage; ne swinke,
Ne noe thynge els, twalue daye' thei woldè not.

Lud. Coll. XLV. H. 1.

MARY's longing for the fruit on the cherry tree, and Joseph's refusal to gather it for her on the return of his jealousy, a remarkable scene in one of the Coventry Plays,[a] is the subject of a Christmas Carol still sung in London, and many parts of England.

From various copies of it printed at different places I am enabled to present the following version:

Joseph was an old man,
And an old man was he,
And he married Mary,
Queen of Galilee.

When Joseph was married,
And his cousin Mary gọt,
Mary proved big with child,
By whom Joseph knew not.

[a] Mystery VIII. p. 67, ante.

As Joseph and Mary
Walk'd through the garden gay,
Where the cherries they grew
Upon every tree;

O! then bespoke Mary,
With words both meek and mild,
'Gather me some cherries, Joseph,
They run so in my mind;
Gather me some cherries,
For I am with child.'

O! then bespoke Joseph,
With words most unkind,
'Let him gather thee cherries,
That got thee with child.'

O! then bespoke Jesus,
All in his mother's womb,
'Go to the tree, Mary,
And it shall bow down;

'Go to the tree, Mary,
And it shall bow to thee,
And the highest branch of all
Shall bow down to Mary's knee,

'And she shall gather cherries
By one, by two, by three.'
'Now you may see, Joseph,
Those cherries were for me.'

O! eat your Cherries, Mary;
O! eat your Cherries now;
O! eat your Cherries, Mary,
That grow on the bough.

As Joseph was a walking,
He heard an angel sing—
'This night shall be born
Our heavenly king;

'He neither shall be born
In housen, nor in hall,
Nor in the place of Paradise,
But in an ox's stall;

'He neither shall be clothed,
In purple nor in pall,
But all in fair linen,
As were babies all:

'He neither shall be rock'd
In silver, nor in gold,
But in a wooden cradle,
That rocks on the mould;

'He neither shall be christen'd
In white wine nor in red,
But with the spring water
With which we were christened.'

Then Mary took her young Son,
And set him on her knee—
'I pray thee now, dear Child,
Tell how this world shall be!'

'This world shall be like
The stones in the street,
For the sun and the moon
Shall bow down at thy feet;

'And upon a Wednesday
My vow I will make,
And upon Good Friday
My death I will take;

'And upon the third day
My uprising shall be,
And the sun and the moon
Shall rise up with me.'

The admiration of my earliest days, for some lines in the Cherry carol still remains, nor can I help thinking that the reader will see somewhat of cause for it:—

He neither shall be clothed, in purple nor in pall,
But all in fair linen, as were babies all:
He neither shall be rock'd, in silver nor in gold,
But in a wooden cradle, that rocks on the mould.

A Warwickshire carol still sung, begins

As I passed by a river side,
And there as I did *reign*,
In argument I chanced to hear
A *carnal* and a crane.

The *carnal* is a bird; the word corrupted by the printer into *reign*, is the obsolete word *rein*, formerly used in the sense of *run*. This carol has other marks of age.

In a volume of MSS. at the British Museum[a] there is 'a Christmas Caroll,' beginning thus:

When cryst was born of mary fre,
In bedlem, i' that fayre cyte,
Angellis songen, with mirth & gle,
In excelsis gl'ia.

A second commences in this way:

Puer nobis natus est de virgine maria.

Be glad, lordyngs, be ye more & lesse,
I bring you tydyngs of gladnesse,
As gabryel me beryth wetnesse.

[a] Harl. MSS. 5396.

The same volume contains 'a song on the Holly and the Ivy,' which I mention because there is an old Carol on the same subject, still printed. The MS. begins with,

Nay, my nay, hyt shal not be I wys,
Let holy hafe the maystry, as the maner ys:

Holy stond in the hall, fayre to behold,
Ivy stond without the dore, she ys ful sore acold.
Nay my nay. &c.
Holy & hys mery men, they dawnsyn and they syng,
Ivy and hur maydyns, they wepyn & they wryng.
Nay my nay, &c.

The popularity of carol-singing occasioned the publication of a duodecimo volume in 1642, intituled, 'PSALMES or Songs of Sion turned into the language and set to the tunes of a strange land. By W(illiam) S(latyer), *intended for Christmas Carols,* and fitted to divers of the most noted and common but solemne tunes, every where in this land familiarly used and knowne.' Upon the copy of this book in the British Museum a former possessor has written the names of some of the tunes to which the author designed them to be sung; for instance, Psalm 6, to the tune of *Jane Shore;* Psalm 19, to *Bar. Forster's Dreame;* Psalm 43, to *Crimson Velvet;* Psalm 47, to *Garden Greene;* Psalm 84, to *The fairest Nymph of the Valleys,* &c.[a]

[a] The adaptation of religious poetry to secular melody in England, is noticed by Shakspeare, in the *Winter's Tale,* (act iv. sc. 3.). The clown relates that his sister being the mistress at his father's shearing feast, made four-and-twenty nosegays for the sheep-shearers, all good catch-singers, mostly trebles and bases, with 'but one puritan among them, and he *sings psalms to hornpipes.*'

There are several collections of carols in the French language; the only one that I can on the instant refer to, is a volume that I have, entitled *Noels Nouveaux sur les Chants des Noels anciens notez pour en faciliter le chant, par M. l'Abbe Pellegrin,* 8vo. Paris, 1785. Most of the pious carols in the volume are set to opera airs, and common song tunes.

Clement Marot's translation of the Psalms into French with secular tunes, was so much in vogue at court that all persons of note had psalms to their several

From a Carol, called *Dives and Lazarus*, I annex an amusing extract.

As it fell out, upon a day,
Rich Dives sicken'd and died,
There came two serpents out of hell,
His soul therein to guide.

Rise up, rise up, brother Dives,
And come along with me,
For you've a place provided in hell,
To sit upon *a serpent's knee.*

However whimsical this may appear to the reader, he can scarcely conceive its ludicrous effect, when the metre of the last line is solemnly drawn out to its utmost length by a Warwickshire chanter, and as solemnly listened to by the well disposed crowd, who seem without difficulty to believe that Dives sits on a serpent's *knee.* The idea of sitting on the knee was, perhaps, conveyed to the *poet's* mind by old wood cut representations

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occasions. King Henry II. chose the 42d. *Ainsi qu'on oyt le cerf*, (Like as the hart doth), which he sung when a-hunting: Madame de Valentinois, who was in love, took the 130th, *Du fond de ma pensée*, (From the bottom of my heart), which she sung *en volte:* the queen's choice was the 6th, *Ne vueillez pas, O Sire*, (Lord, in thy wrath), to an air of the *Chant des buffons:* Anthony king of Navarre had the 43d, *Revange moy, prens ta querelle*, (Judge and revenge my cause), which he tuned to the *Brawl of Poictiers;* and the rest in like manner.— *Florimond Ramond, Hist. Hæres.* (Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, p. 55.)

The most singular measure adopted for circulating the reformed opinions in Scotland, was the composition of 'Gude and godly ballates, changed out of prophaine sangs, for avoiding of sinne and harlotrie.' The title sufficiently indicates their nature and design. The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes at that time. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar depravation of taste in our reforming countrymen: spiritual songs constructed upon the same principle were common in Italy, (Roscoe's Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 309. 4to): at the beginning of the Reformation the very same practice was adopted in Holland as in Scotland.—*Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 365.

of Lazarus seated in Abraham's lap. More anciently, Abraham was frequently drawn holding him up by the sides, to be seen by Dives in hell. In an old book now before me,[a] they are so represented, with the addition of a devil blowing the fire under Dives with a pair of bellows.

I have a 'Christmas Carol on Peko-Tea.'[b] It begins with 'Deut. xxxiii. 16. For the good will of Him that dwelt in the *Bush*;' and the author proceeds in a strange manner to relate,

> How Christ was in a manger born
> And God dwelt in a bush of thorn,
> Which *bush* of thorn appears to me
> The same that yields best Peko-tea.

This *bush* he imagines may be the thorn that blooms in April:

> Abundant such in Berks I've seen
> Near *Newb'ry*, at my native *speen*.
> * * * *
> Now if Christ's *bush* of thorn we find,
> God's bush and tea bush all one kind,
> We must confess its full renown,
> God to enjoy, and Christ to crown;
> And have its leaves grow so renown'd
> As to refresh the world around.

He spiritualizes many subjects in succession, and inveighs with great bitterness against those,

> ——— who, readers to entangle,
> The scriptures into pieces mangle;
> Dividing them, which truth immerses
> Into chapters, sects, and verses;

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a Postilla Guillermi, 4to. Basil, 1491.

b *A Christmas Carol on Peko-Tea:* or, a Sacred Carol, which like Tea that is perfectly good and fine, will be most grateful and useful all the year round, from Christmass to Christmass for ever. Humbly addressed to Queen Caroline, and the Princess Carolina, and all the Royal Family. By Francis Hoffman. London, 1729, 8vo. pp. 16.

Full of religious fervor, and *grocer* zeal for cups of Peko tea, he concludes with this devout wish—

> May all who do these truths condemn
> Ne'er taste one single drop of them
> Here, or in New Jerusalem.

Carols begin to be spoken of as not belonging to this century,[a] and yet no one, that I am aware of, has attempted a *collection* of these fugitives. As the carols now printed will at no distant period become obsolete, an alphabetical list of those in my possession is subjoined. It excludes all that are disused at the present time, nor does it contain any of the numerous compositions printed by religious societies under the denomination of Carols.

Christmas Carols now annually Printed.

1. A glorious star from heaven appear'd.
2. A jolly wassel bowl.
3. A Virgin most pure as the Prophets did tell.
4. All Christians pray you now attend.
5. All Englishmen I pray you now attend.
6. All hail the ever glad'ning morn.
7. All hail the morn! loud anthems raise.
8. All honour, glory, might, and power.
9. All you that are to mirth inclined.
10. All you that live must learn to die.
11. Arise, and hail the sacred day.
12. As I pass'd by a river side.
13. As I sat on a sunny bank.
14. As it fell out one May morning.
15. As it fell out upon a day, rich Dives made a feast.
16. Attend, good people, now I pray.
17. Away dark thoughts, awake my joys.

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[a] October 3, 1822, at the dinner of a city company I heard Mr. Taylor of Covent-Garden Theatre sing a new ballad of 'good old times,' when

> ——— Christmas had its Christmas carols,
> And ladies' sides were hoop'd like barrels.

18. Behold the grace appears.
19. Christians awake! salute the happy morn
20. Christmas now is drawing near at hand.
21. Come, behold the virgin Mother.
22. Come, ye rich, survey the stable.
23. From the High Priest an armed band.
24. Good Christians all with joyful mirth.
25. Good Christian people, pray attend.
26. Good Christian people, pray give ear.
27. God's dear Son, without beginning.
28. God rest you, merry gentlemen.
29. Hark! all around the welkin ring.
30. Hark! hark! what news the angels bring.
31. Hark! how the heralds of the Lord.
32. Hark! the herald angels sing.
33. Have you not heard and seen our Saviour's love.
34. Here is a fountain of Christ's blood.
35. Hosanna! to the Prince of Light.
36. In Bethlehem City in Judea it was.
37. In friendly love and unity.
38. In God let all his Saints rejoice.
39. Inspire me, Heav'n! nor in me leave a thought.
40. In the Reign of Great Cæsar, the Emperor of Rome.
41. Let all good Christian people here.
42. Let all that are to mirth inclined.
43. Let children proclaim their Saviour and king.
44. Let mortals all rejoice.
45. Let Christians all with one accord rejoice.
46. Let Christians now in joyful mirth.
47. Mortals, awake! with angels join.
48. My gift is small, a dozen of points.
49. My master and dame I well perceive.
50. Now when Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem bound.
51. O fair, O fair Jerusalem! when shall I come to thee?
52. O faithful Christians, as you love.
53. O! faithless, proud, and sinful man.
54. O! see man's Saviour in Bethlehem born.
55. O! the Almighty Lord.
56. Of Jesu's birth, lo! angels sing.

57. On Christmas day in the morn.
58. On Christmas night all Christians sing.
59. One God there is of wisdom, glory, might.
60. One night as slumbering I lay.
61. Reader, pray do not think I am unkind.
62. Rejoice and be merry, set sorrow aside.
63. Rejoice now all good Christians.
64. See how the blessed Babe on Mother's knee.
65. Shepherds rejoice, lift up your eyes.
66. Sinners, who now do at this time.
67. Sweeter sounds than music knows.
68. The faithless, proud, and sinful man.
69. The first good joy our Lady had.
70. The holly and the ivy, now are both well grown.
71. The King of Glory sends his Son.
72. The moon shines bright, and the stars give a light.
73. The Shepherds amaz'd, the Saviour behold.
74. This second Carol here I sing.
75. This is the truth sent from above.
76. Thus Angels sing, and thus sing we.
77. Turn your eyes that are so fixed.
78. Upon the five and twentieth of December.
79. When bloody Herod reigned king.
80. When Christ the Saviour did appear.
81. When Christ our Lord drew nigh.
82. When Jesus Christ had lived.
83. When Jesus Christ our Lord.
84. When righteous Joseph wedded was.
85. When Zachariah was a priest.
86. While shepherds watch'd their flocks by night.
87. Within this rock, that rock is laid.
88. Ye mortals all, of high and low degree.
89. Ye young and ye gay.

This Collection I have had little opportunity of increasing except when in the country I have heard an old woman singing an old Carol, and brought back the Carol in my pocket with less chance of its escape, than the tune in my head.

3 Wise Men.

Christ tempted.

The attachment of Carol buyers[a] extends even to the wood cuts by which they are surrounded. Some of these, on a sheet of Christmas Carols, in 1820, were so rude in execution, that I requested the publisher, Mr. T. Batchelar, of 115, Long Alley, Moorfields, to sell me the original blocks. I was a little surprised by his telling me that he was afraid it would be impossible to get any of the same kind cut again. When I proffered to get much better engraved, and give them to him in exchange for his old ones, he said, 'Yes, but better are not so good; I can get better myself: now these are old favourites, and better cuts will not please my customers so well.' However, by assuring him that artists could copy any thing, I obtained them. Those who are fond of specimens of all kinds of wood engraving, will be amused by the annexed impressions from these four blocks, produced in the metropolis of

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[a] Mr. Southey describing the fight 'upon the plain of Patay,' tells of one who fell, as having

> In his lord's castle dwelt, for many a year,
> A well-beloved servant: he could sing
> Carols for Shrove-tide, or for Candlemas,
> Songs for the Wassel, and when the Boar's head
> Crown'd with gay garlands, and with rosemary,
> Smoak'd on the Christmas board.
>
> *Joan of Arc*, b. x. l. 466.

These ditties which now exclusively enliven the industrious servant-maid, and the humble labourer, gladdened the festivity of royalty in ancient times. Henry VII., in the third year of his reign, kept his *Christmas* at Greenwich: on the twelfth night, after high mass, the king went to the hall and kept his estate

England in this advanced state of art. They almost defy rivalry with the earliest conceptions, and shew the prevailing taste in graphic illustration among those who in due season, as naturally buy Christmas Carols as they long for mince pies and eat plum-pudding.

I recollect the sheet of Carols twice its present size, with more than double the number of cuts, and sold for a half-penny; but alas! 'every thing is changed;' the present half sheets are raised in price to a whole penny.

I must not omit to observe, that Mr. Batchelar was certainly sincere in the belief he expressed of his customers' attachment to his wood blocks. When he sold them to me, he expressly stipulated for a reservation of copyright in the designs; and he exercised it last year by publishing a sheet of Carols, adorned with fac-similes of the impressions which the reader is now looking upon.

The inscriptions are placed beneath the cuts exactly as they stand in the original sheet.

Christ brought before Pilate.

Taken down from the Cross.

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at the table; in the middle sat the Dean, and those of the king's chapel, who immediately after the king's first course 'sang a *carall*.'—(*Leland. Collect.* vol. iv. p. 237.)—Granger innocently observes that 'they that fill the highest and the lowest classes of human life, seem in many respects to be more nearly allied than even themselves imagine. A skilful anatomist would find little or no difference in dissecting the body of a king, and that of the meanest of his subjects; and a judicious philosopher would discover a surprising conformity in discussing the nature and qualities of their minds.'—*Biog. Hist. Engl.* ed. 1804, vol. iv. p. 356.

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The earliest collection of Christmas Carols supposed to have been published, is only known from the last leaf of a volume printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in the year 1521. This precious scrap was picked up by Tom Hearne; Dr. Rawlinson, who purchased it at his decease in a volume of tracts, bequeathed it to the Bodleian library. There are two Carols upon it: one, 'a caroll of huntynge,' is re-printed in the last edition of Juliana Berners' Boke of St. Alban's; the other, 'a Caroll, bringing in the bore's head,' is in Mr. Dibdin's Ames, with a copy of it as it is now sung in Queen's College, Oxford, every Christmas day, 'to the common chaunt of the prose version of the Psalms in Cathedrals.' Dr. Bliss, of Oxford, also printed on a sheet for private distribution, a few copies of this and Ant. a Wood's version of it, with notices concerning the custom, from the handwritings of Wood and Dr. Rawlinson, in the Bodleian Library. Ritson, in his ill-tempered 'Observations on Warton's History of English Poetry,' (1782, 4to. p. 37,) has a Christmas carol upon bringing up the boar's head, from an ancient MS. in his possession; wholly different from Dr. Bliss's. The 'Bibliographical Miscellanies,' (Oxford, 1813, 4to.) contains seven Carols from a collection in one volume in the possession of Dr. Cotton, of Christ Church College, Oxford, 'inprynted at London, in the Powltry, by Richard Kele, dwellyng at the longe shop vnder saynt Myldrede's Chyrche,' probably 'between 1546 and 1552:' I had an opportunity of perusing this exceedingly curious volume which is supposed to be unique, and has since passed into the hands of Mr. Freeling. There are Carols among the *Godly & Spiritual Songs and Balates*, in 'Scotish Poems of the sixteenth Century,' (1801, 8vo.); and one by Dunbar, from the Bannatyne MS. in 'Ancient Scottish Poems.' Others are in Mr. Ellis's edition of Brand's Popular Antiquities, with several useful notices. Warton's History of English Poetry contains much concerning *old* Carols. Mr. Douce, in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, gives a Specimen of the carol sung by the shepherds on the birth of Christ in one of the Coventry Plays. There is a sheet of carols, headed thus: 'CHRISTUS NATUS EST: *Christ*

is born;'[a] with a wood-cut, 10 inches high, by 8½ inches wide, representing the stable at Bethlehem; Christ in the crib, watched by the Virgin and Joseph; shepherds kneeling; angels attending; a man playing on the bagpipes; a woman, with a basket of fruit on her head; a sheep bleating, and an ox lowing on the ground; a raven croaking, and a crow cawing on the hay-rack; a cock crowing above them; and angels singing in the sky. The animals have labels from their mouths, bearing Latin inscriptions. Down the side of the wood-cut is the following account and explanation: 'A *religious* man inventing the conceits of both birds and beasts, drawn in the picture of our Saviour's birth, doth thus express them: The cock croweth, *Christus natus est*, Christ is born. The raven asked, *Quando?* When? The cow replied, *Hac nocte*, This night. The ox cryeth out, *Ubi? Ubi?* Where? Where? The sheep bleated out, *Bethlehem*, Bethlehem. Voice from heaven sounded, *Gloria in Excelsis*, Glory be on high.'

The custom of singing carols at Christmas prevails in Ireland to the present time. In Scotland where no church feasts have been kept since the days of John Knox, the custom is unknown. In Wales it is still preserved to a greater extent, perhaps, than in England; at a former period, the Welsh had carols adapted to most of the ecclesiastical festivals, and the four seasons of the year, but at this time they are limited to that of Christmas. After the turn of midnight at Christmas eve, service is performed in the churches, followed by the singing of carols to the harp. Whilst the Christmas holidays continue, they are sung in like manner in the houses, and there are carols especially adapted to be sung at the doors of the houses by visitors before they enter. *Llyfr Carolan*,[b] or the Book of Carols, contains sixty-six for Christmas, and five summer carols; *Blodeugerdd Cymrii*,[c] or the Anthology of Wales, contains forty-eight Christmas carols,

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[a] London, Printed and Sold by J. Bradford, in Little Britain, the Corner House over against the Pump, 1701. Price One Penny.

[b] Shrewsbury, 4th edit. 1740. 12mo.

[c] Shrewsbury, 1779, 8vo.

nine summer carols, three May carols, one winter carol, one nightingale carol, and a carol to Cupid. The following verse of a carol for Christmas is literally translated from the first mentioned volume. The poem was written by Hugh Morris, a celebrated song-writer during the commonwealth, and until the early part of the reign of William III.[a]

To a saint let us not pray, to a pope let us not kneel;
On Jesu let us depend, and let us discreetly watch
To preserve our souls from Satan with his snares;
Let us not in a morning invoke any one else.

With the succeeding translation of a *Welsh Wassail song*, the observer of manners will, perhaps, be pleased. In Welsh, the lines of each couplet, repeated inversely, still keep the same sense.

A Carol for the Eve of St. Mary's Day.

This is the season when, agreeably to custom,
That it was an honour to send *wassail*[b]
By the old people who were happy
In their time, and loved pleasure;
And we are now purposing
To be like them, every one merry:
Merry and foolish, youths are wont to be,
Being reproached for squandering abroad.
I know that every mirth will end
Too soon of itself;
Before it is ended, here comes
The *wassail* of Mary, for the sake of the time:
N ———[c] place the maid immediately
In the chair before us;

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[a] An edition of Hugh Morris's Works is now in the press.

[b] Dyma anser yr oeild arver
Anrhydedd vod o anvon gwirod.

[c] Here the master or mistress of the house was called on by name to officiate.

And let every body in the house be content that we
May drink *wassail* to virginity,
To remember the time, in faithfulness,
When fair Mary was at the sacrifice,
After the birth to her of a son,
Who delivered every one, through his good will
From their sins, without doubt.
Should there be an inquiry who made the carol,
He is a man whose trust is fully on God,
That he shall go to heaven to the effulgent Mary,
Towards filling the orders where she also is.

THOMAS EVANS.

On the continent the custom of carolling at Christmas is almost universal. During the last days of Advent, Calabrian minstrels enter Rome, and are to be seen in every street saluting the shrines of the Virgin mother with their wild music, under the traditional notion of charming her labour-pains on the approaching Christmas. Lady Morgan observed them frequently stopping at the shop of a carpenter. In reply to questions concerning this, the workmen who stood at the door said, that it was done out of respect to St. Joseph.'[a] I have an old print of this practice. Two Calabrian shepherds are represented devoutly playing at Christmas in a street of Rome, before a stone shrine, containing a sculpture of the Infant Jesus in the Virgin's arms, lighted up by candles, with a relief under it of supplicating souls in purgatorial fire, inscribed '*Dite Ave Maria.*' A young female, with a rosary, is praying on her knees before the sculpture. The shepherds stand behind and blow the bagpipes and a clarionet.

If one there be who has proceeded until now without tiring, he will know how much pleasantness there is in pursuits like these. To him who inquires of what *use* they are, I answer, that I have found them agreeable recreations at leisure mo-

[a] Lady Morgan's Italy, c. xxi.

ments. I love an old MS. and 'a ballad in print,' and I know no distance that I would not travel to obtain Autolycus's 'Ballad of a Fish that appeared upon the coast, on Wednesday the fourscore of April, forty thousand fathom above water, and sung this ballad against the hard hearts of maids.' I can scarcely tell why collectors have almost overlooked Carols, as a class of popular poetry. To me they have been objects of interest from circumstances which occasionally determine the direction of pursuit. The wood cuts round the annual sheets, and the melody of '*God rest you merry Gentlemen,*' delighted my childhood; and, I still listen with pleasure to the shivering carolist's evening chaunt towards the clean kitchen window decked with holly, the flaring fire showing the whitened hearth, and reflecting gleams of light from the surfaces of the dresser utensils.

Since this sheet was at the printer's, Gilbert Davies, Esq. F.R.S. F.A.S. &c. has published eight 'Ancient Christmas Carols, with the *tunes* to which they were formerly sung in the West of England.' This is a laudable and successful effort to rescue from oblivion some carol melodies, which in a few years will be no more heard. Mr. Davies says, that 'on Christmas-day these carols took the place of psalms in all the Churches, especially at afternoon service, the whole congregation joining: and at the end it was usual for the Parish Clerk, to declare in a loud voice, his wishes for a merry Christmas and a happy new year.' A sentiment similar to that of the parish clerk's in the West of England, was expressed last year in a way that leaves little doubt of its former general adoption at the same season. Just before Christmas day, I was awakened in London at the dead of night, by the playing of the waits: on the conclusion of their solemn tunes, one of the performers exclaimed aloud, 'God bless you, my masters and mistresses, a merry Christmas to you, and a happy new year.'

IV. ENGRAVINGS OF APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT SUBJECTS.

Pictures by the best masters, prints by the early engravers, woodcuts in early black letter and block-books, and illuminations of missals and monastic MSS. receive immediate elucidation on reference to the Apocryphal New Testament, and are without explanation from any other source.

Apoc. N. Test. Pref.

THE following is a List of Prints in my own possession, founded on subjects in the Apocryphal New Testament. The passages to which they refer are inserted before the descriptions. Several of these engravings illustrate scenes in the preceding Mysteries.

I. THE MEETING OF JOACHIM AND ANNE AT THE GOLDEN GATE OF JERUSALEM.

Mary, ii.—1. The angel of the Lord stood by Joachim with a prodigious light.——2. To whom being troubled at the appearance, the angel who had appeared to him endeavouring to compose him said;——9. Anna your wife shall bring you a daughter, and you shall call her name Mary.——10. She shall according to your vow be devoted to the Lord from her infancy, and be filled with the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb.——13. And this shall be a sign to you of the things which I declare, namely, *when you come to the golden gate of Jerusalem, you shall there meet your wife* Anna.

iii.—1. Afterwards the angel appeared to Anna his wife, saying,——2. A daughter shall be born unto you, &c.——6. Arise, therefore, and go up to Jerusalem, *and when you shall come to that which is called the golden gate*, as a sign of what I have told you, *you shall meet your husband*, for whose safety you have been so much concerned.

Joachim and Anne *meeting at the gate*, and embracing. Men conversing and looking on. An engraving on wood by *Albert Durer*—half sheet.

II. The Birth of the Virgin Mary.

Mary, iii.—11. ¶ So Anna conceived and brought forth a daughter.

Protevangelion.—6. And when nine months were fulfilled to Anna, she brought forth, and said to the midwife, What have I brought forth?——7. And she told her, a girl.

1. In the back-ground Anne in bed; an angel above, censing; two women administering drink and food to her: in the foreground a woman seated, washing the infant; nine other women in the room, drinking and talking with a child. 'An engraving on wood, by *Albert Durer*—half sheet.

2. Anne in bed waited on by a female; her husband Joachim seated by the bedside; God as an old man in the clouds, with the world in his hand, attended by angels; women dressing the infant, preparing the cradle, airing linen, &c. Engraved after *B. Spranger*, 1584—large upright sheet.

III. The Virgin Mary miraculously ascending the Steps of the Temple.

Mary, iv.—1. And when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to the temple with their offerings.——4. And they put her upon one of the stairs.——6. In the meantime the Virgin of the Lord in such a manner *went up all the stairs one after another*, without the help of any one to lead her or lift her, that any one would have judged from hence that she was of perfect age.

Mary ascending the steps of the temple; the priests waiting at the door above to receive her; Joachim and Anna in the crowd below; Receivers of the offerings counting money, &c. An engraving on wood, by *Albert Durer*—half sheet.

IV. Joseph's miraculous budded Rod.

Mary, v.—16. Then according to this prophecy the high-priest appointed that all men of the house and family of David who were marriageable, and not married, should bring their several rods to the altar.——17. *And out of whatsoever person's rod after it was brought, a flower should bud forth, and on the top of it the Spirit of the Lord should sit in the appearance of a dove, he should be the man to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed.*

Protevangelion, viii.—11. *And behold a dove proceeded out of the rod, and flew upon the head of Joseph.*——12. And the high-priest said, Joseph, Thou art the person chosen to take the virgin of the Lord.

1. An interior—the birth-place of Christ; Joseph *with his budded rod*; offerings being presented, &c. Engraved by *Jac. Frey*, after *Sebast. Conca*—large sheet.

2. Jesus in the Virgin's lap holding *Joseph's budded rod* in both hands; the Virgin attracting his attention from it by showing him a flower. Engraved by *Joseph Juster*, after *Leonardi da Vinci*—folio.

3. Joseph seated *with his budded rod* in his lap, reading a scroll. Engraved by *A. A. Morel*, after *Wicar*—quarto.

4. Joseph *with his budded rod* in his right hand, holding the child on his left arm. An oval engraving, octavo size, with square border for illumination, *published at Paris by Gautier*, 1818.

V. Christ's Birth in a Cave.

Protevangelion, xiv.—10. Then a bright cloud overshadowed the *cave*.

1 *Infancy*, i.—10. And behold it was all *filled with lights* greater than the lights of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the sun itself.

The birth of Christ in the *cave*, a great *light* from the infant; Angels adoring him, others in a cloud above praying and praising. Engraved by *Wierix*—small folio.

VI. Fall of the Idol in Egypt.

1 *Infancy*, iv.—6. And now he drew near to a great city in which there was an idol.——13. And at the same instant *the idol fell down*, and at his fall all the inhabitants of Egypt, besides others, ran together.

1. The flight into Egypt, *an idol falling* from a bracket attached to a tree. Engraved by *John Sadler*, after *M. De Vos*—small folio.

2. The same subject. Engraved by *A. Wierix*—small 12mo.

VII. Flight of the Robbers.

1 *Infancy*, v.—3. They went therefore hence to the secret place of robbers who robbed travellers, as they pass by, of their carriages and their

clothes, and carry them away bound.——4. *These thieves upon their coming* heard a great noise, such as the noise of a king with a great army, and many horse, and the trumpets sounding, at his departure from his own city; at which they *were so affrighted, as to leave all their booty behind them, and fly away in haste.*

The arrival of the Holy Family, and the *flight of the robbers.* An etching by *Castiglione.*

VIII. The Virgin Mary washing Christ's Clothes.

1 *Infancy*, viii.—9. ¶ Hence they went to that sycamore tree which is now called Matarea.——10. And in Matarea *the Lord Jesus caused a well to spring forth in which St. Mary washed his coat.*——11. And a balsam is produced (or grows) in that country, from the sweat which ran down there from the Lord Jesus.

1. *Mary on her knees washing linen at a spring-head,* and Christ taking it to Joseph, who hands it to two angels in a tree to hang up to dry. Engraved by *Vallet,* from *Albano*—a large sheet.

2. Another by *Benoist,* from the same picture; rather smaller.

3. An Orleans Gallery print by *Couche,* from the same.

IX. Joseph carpentering—Christ assisting him.

1 *Infancy*, xvi.—And Joseph, wheresoever he went into the city, took the Lord Jesus with him where he was sent for to make gates, or milk pails, or sieves or boxes.

1. The infant in the cradle, Mary spinning from a distaff; full grown angels attending them. Joseph working with his hatchet at a bench; little angels raking together and picking up his chips, and putting them in a basket. An engraving on wood, by *Albert Durer.*

2. Joseph working at a bench for the building of a church or monastery; an archangel directing the work; angels carrying the boards, and flying up to the steeple with large beams; the Virgin seated, rolling a swathe on a table with the child in her arms; an angel airing a napkin at the fire, others in the clouds with music-books, singing. Engraved by *J. Sadler,* after *Fred. Sustris*—small folio, breadthways.

3. The same subject; reversed, by *R. Sadler.*

4. The Virgin seated with the child sleeping in her arms; an angel making up his bed in the cradle; another airing his napkin at the fire-place: Joseph leaning over the back of her chair, with a chisel in his right, and a mallet in his left hand. Engraved by *Vander Does,* after *Guellinus*—folio.

5. Joseph at his carpenter's bench chiselling wood; Christ standing at the end holding a lamp for him to see by; the Virgin behind. Engraved by *Coelemans,* after *Bigot*—quarto.

6. Joseph at the work-bench making a chalk-line on a board; Christ holding one end of the line, and Joseph the other; the Virgin seated with work in her lap; Joseph's budded rod in a vase. A large engraving by *J. Pesne,* after *An. Caracci.*

7. Joseph planeing in a room; the Virging sewing; Christ sweeping the shavings together with a broom. *A small oval engraving, with Latin letter-press beneath, from a foreign devotional book.*

8. 'JESU CHRISTI DEI DOMINI SALVATORIS N̄RI INFANTIA.' This is a set of small plates beautifully engraved by *Jerome Wierix:* among them are the following subjects: 1. Joseph in a room driving a wooden pin into the doorsill; Christ sweeping up chips, and angels carrying them to Mary, who is at the fire cooking in a skillet. 2. Joseph and an angel driving nails into the frame-work of a building; Christ with a large augur boring a hole in a plank; Mary reeling thread. 3. Joseph chipping a log; Christ and angels picking up the chips; Mary reeling thread. 4. Joseph finishing the roof of a house; Christ carrying a plank up a ladder; Mary combing flax. 5. Joseph building a boat; Christ caulking it, assisted by angels; Mary knitting. 6. Joseph driving posts into the ground; Christ nailing the rails, attended by angels. 7. Joseph and Christ sawing across the trunk of a tree on the ground; an angel sitting on each end to steady it; Mary at a spinning wheel. 8. Joseph and Christ sawing into planks a large beam, which is elevated on a scaffold; Christ holding the saw, on the beam above, as the

topsman; Joseph pulling below; angels lifting wood, and Mary spinning.

A Volume that I have, entitled the 'Boeck van Jhesus leven,'[a] contains Apoc. N. Test. subjects, with engravings on wood, coloured. 1. A cut that occupies the whole of page 14, at the top, in one corner, represents Issachar reproaching Joachim for being without issue, and returning him his offerings; in the other corner the angel comforts Joachim, and appoints him to meet his wife Anne at the Golden Gate; below, the angel consoles Anne, and tells her that she shall be no longer barren; in the other lower corner appears the gate, with Joachim and Anne embracing. 2. On page 15, is a cut of the Virgin at three years old, walking up the fifteen steps of the temple to the astonishment of the priests. 3. A cut on page 16, represents the men of the house of David with rods, standing beside the altar in the temple; the priest before it talking to Joseph, whose rod has blossomed, with the Holy Ghost as a dove sitting upon its top. 4. A cut of the flight into Egypt, is on page 43, with two idols falling from their pillars before Christ and the Virgin.

Having concluded a brief notice of some of this class of prints in my possession, the following that I recollect to have seen may be added: viz. 1. The Nativity of Christ, with *the two midwives* present; engraved by *Ghisi*—very large. 2. The marriage of Joseph and Mary, with *Joseph's rod* in *flower, and the dove;* after a picture by *Parmegiano.*—3. The same subject with *Joseph's rod budding, and the Holy Ghost coming down as the dove,* after *N. Poussin.*—4. The same subject, *Joseph's rod budding,* &c. *Jordano.*—There are prints of Anne and Joachim her husband, in the English and foreign editions of the Golden Legend. Among the Harleian MSS. an inventory of furniture at the old royal palace of Greenwich, in the reign of Henry VIII. contains 'a tablet of our Lady and St. Anne.'

Gough in his account of the splendid Bedford Missal, men-

[a] Folio, Breda, 1495.

tions several of its sumptuous drawings that are clearly Apoc. N. Test. subjects; in particular, 'the angel announces to St. Anne, the nativity of our Lady, and that she should bear the mother of our Saviour.'[a] 2. St. Anne and Joachim present the Virgin Mary in the temple. 3. A representation of the idols falling in the flight into Egypt.[b] 4. Another of the same subject.[c] Perhaps Mr. Gough's account of a 'man with a lily sceptre pursued by men with staves,'[d] may be found to be Joseph with his budded rod, and the men of the house of David with their rods.

It would weary the reader to enumerate similar illustrations of these apocryphal subjects. I shall therefore conclude by observing that in the Salisbury Missal of 1534, there is a prayer with a preface, stating that Pope Alexander VI. granted to all that said it devoutly in the worship of St. Anne, and our Lady and her son, ten thousand years of pardon for deadly sins, and twenty years for venial sins, '*totiens quotiens*;' also another prayer to be said before the image of Saint Anna, Maria, and Jesus, 'of the whyche Raymund the cardinall and legate hath granted a C days of pardon, *totie's quotiens*.' Before these prayers is a whole length wood-cut portrait of Anne, with an emblazonment, on the front of her figure, of the Virgin Mary, with the child Jesus in her arms. In the back-ground the angel is appearing to Joachim, and Anne is meeting him at the Golden Gate. On the next page there is a smaller cut of Anne teaching the Virgin to read. Anne is represented in this way in *Les Ceremonies de la St. Messe*. The painters usually so occupy her.[e]

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[a] Account of the Bedford Missal, 1794, 4to. p. 78. [b] Ibid. p. 26.
[c] Ibid. p. 38. [d] Ibid. p. 28.

[e] Ribadeneira in his *Lives of the Saints*, (fol. 1730, vol. ii. p. 59.) says, 'We cannot say any thing greater for the glory of St. ANNE, than to call her the mother of the mother of God, and grandmother of Jesus Christ. For it cannot be questioned, but that the same bountiful Lord hath furnished, beautified, and ennobled her purest soul with all those treasures of virtues it was fitting she should be enriched and adorned with, who was to be the grandmother of the Son of God.' The same author thus apostrophises JOACHIM her husband. 'O, happy man, that was made worthy to give to God the Father, a most pure and holy daughter; to God the Son, an incomparable mother; to God

the Holy Ghost, a most chaste spouse, and the rich cabinet of the holy Trinity.' A tract licensed by the Doctors in Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, in 1643, 'in order to maintain devotion to her,' is entitled, '*The Prerogatives of St. Anne, Mother of the Mother of God.*' The Doctors in setting forth the sanctity of Anne, supposes that an eagle, preparing to make a nest, flies about to choose a tree surpassing all others in height and beauty, and makes choice of the strongest branch, and nearest heaven. Imagine, now, says the author, that God is this eagle, who running over with his eyes, all the women who were to be, from the first to the last, perceived not any one so worthy to receive the glorious virgin who was to be the little nest of the heavenly eaglet who is the word incarnate, as St. Anne, in whom he rested himself as in the tree of Paradise;—so that God gave to her merits the glorious advantage of conceiving in her bowels a daughter, who merited the exalted dignity of becoming the mother of God, and effecting the re-establishment of the universe. Consequently in our need we must address ourselves by St. Anne to the Virgin, and by the Virgin to Jesus Christ, and by Jesus Christ to God his Father. By the imitation of her virtues we revere her sanctity, and God seeing that we have no present to approach his throne, his grandmother desires from the souls who bear her name, that their hearts be always replenished with grace.

In the London Gazette, from Sept. 8 to Sept. 11, 1722, is the following entry: —'HANOVER, Sept. 7th, N. S. This day died in the 89th year of his age, M. Gerard Molan, Abbot of Lockumb, Primate of the States of this Dutchy, Director of the churches and clergy in the Electorate, Head of his Majesty's ecclesiastical court, and council there, and a member of the English Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. Notwithstanding,' says the Gazette, 'his great age, he enjoyed till his last sickness a firm health, with a vigour of body and mind equal to his *laborious employments*. His great abilities, his prudence, integrity, and the indefatigable application, he shewed, in discharging the *trust* reposed in him, gained him the special favour of his sovereign, the love of those under his care, and the esteem of all that knew him. His profound learning, exemplary piety, and truly Christian moderation rendered him the ornament of the German Evangelick Clergy, so that his loss is universally lamented.'

One of the *trusts* reposed in the Primate Molan, was that of '*Keeper of a noble collection of Relics;*' and one of his *laborious employments*, the drawing up of a Catalogue Raisonnée in Latin of his precious charge. I have in my possession an English translation of this catalogue by a traveller, to whom he presented a Latin copy, and shewed the relics. The MS. contains an account of *Two Relics of St.* ANNE, *Mother of the most glorious Virgin Mary; likewise a piece of her coat; also another piece of her coat; and furthermore a great piece of her coat.* In the same 'noble collection,' are two relics of St. Clement, two of St. Barnabas, and three of St. Hermas, whose writings are contained in the Apoc. N. Test. Their relics are accompanied by others of each of the twelve Apostles; also three relics of St. John the Baptist, and one of his teeth; two relics of St. Thomas à Becket; six relics of the eleven thousand Virgins,

with three notable bones, and three great bones belonging to them; the shoulder-blade of St. George the Martyr, a piece of his arm, one of his ribs, and a piece of his back; an arm of St. Lawrence; 'a thumb of St. Mark, from his body at Venice, which wants it;' the claws of a crab belonging to St. Peter; two pieces of Aaron's rod; an entire arm of St. Bartholomew; an arm of St. Mary Magdalen, and a piece of her head; some oil from the breast of the Virgin; some of her hair; several other relics of her, and a piece of her tombstone; two pieces of the table at which Christ supped; some of the ointment he was anointed with; three pieces of the pillar at which he was scourged; two thorns from his crown; nine pieces of his cross; some of his blood; and his handkerchief. These relics of St. ANNE, and the rest I have mentioned, with a multitude of others, are the ancestral property of His present Majesty king George the Fourth. The MS. says, that 'this is most certain, that all travellers, that have been in all parts of the world, and come to Hanover and seen these relics, with one voice confess, that so vast a treasure of most valuable relics, so finely adorned, is hardly to be seen, or indeed not at all to be seen together in any one place whatever—and they are now preserved in the Electoral Chapel, and readily and willingly shewn to all that desire to see them.'

JOACHIM, on his festival in the old Roman Missal, is thus addressed, 'O Joachim, husband of St. Anne, and father of the Blessed Virgin, from hence bestow saving help on thy servants.' The last of some Latin verses in the same service is thus translated by Bp. Patrick, (*Devot. of Rom. Ch.* p. 396.)

> And now thou'rt placed among the blest so high,
> Thou canst do every thing thou art inclined to;
> Thy nephew, Jesus, sure will not deny,
> Much less thy daughter, what thou hast a mind to.

ANNE, his wife, was also supplicated for the remission of sin, and honoured with hymns, and other devotions. She is spoken of by English writers with great respect. In '*the new Notborune mayde upo' the passio' of cryste*,' (imprynted at London by John Skot, 12mo.;) a rare poem, occasioned by the old ballad of the *Not-browne Mayde*, in Arnold's Chronicle, 1521, (of which latter, Prior's *Nutbrown Maid*, is an altered version,) ANNE is honoured, by the author making Christ himself mention her, in answer to one of Mary's expostulations in behalf of mankind:

> Lo, thus, good mayde,
> The *doughter of Saynt Anne*,
> Man hate exylede
> From hym your chylde,
> Ryght as a banysshed man.

That ANNE was in good estimation may be well imagined from there being in London, four churches dedicated to her, besides upwards of thirty thoroughfares in the metropolis called by her name. In the Calendar to the Catholic Church,

Service, (*Laity's Directory*, 1822,) her birth-day, the 26th of July, is marked as a high festival of devotion. The *Wedding-Ring* of JOACHIM and ANNE has also had its due share of respect, for it was kept by the nuns of St. Anne at Rome, and worked miracles. It was stolen during the sacking of that city under the pontificate of Clement VII., but was wonderfully brought back and laid upon a stone by a crow.

An account of the honours to the Virgin MARY, would exceed the limits of this volume. Some notion of it may be formed from the fact, that upwards of three thousand different engravings of her were in the Collection of Prints, made by the Abbe Marolles. The miracles she is recorded to have worked are almost innumerable. 'At one time they make her come down from heaven, to support an arch thief at the gallows, who was hanged for his rogueries, but was withal a great devotee of her's; at another, she comes to darn Thomas of Canterbury's coat, which happened to be torn upon the shoulders; then she is at the pains of wiping the sweat from the faces of the Monks of Clairvaux, while they are at work; at another time she discharges the duty of a certain abbess who was rambling up and down the country with a monk who had debauched her; she sings matins for a monk who had asked her to supply his place; and they even make her come down to let a young fellow blood.'—(*Conform. bet. Anc. and Mod. Cerem.* p. 144.) The veneration in which she is held at this day may be gathered from a perusal of '*The Devotion and Office of the Sacred Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, with its nature, origin, progress, &c., including the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary,*' (11th edit. Keating and Co., 1816, 18mo.).

JOSEPH the husband of Mary is also highly distinguished by worship appointed to him. This appears from a recent devotional work, entitled, '*Reflections on the prerogatives, power, and protection of* ST. JOSEPH, *spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with several devotions to the said most glorious Patriarch.*' (Keating, 1812, 18mo.) Worship to JOSEPH was first assigned about 1370, in the reign of Pope Gregory XI. when a chapel being consecrated to St. Joseph in the cathedral of Avignon, the pope placed his coat of arms about it in large escutcheons of stone. He increased the revenues of the canons, and ordained that the confraternity of Bachelors and sodality of Virgins belonging to it, in the procession on his festival, should carry in their hands posies of flowers emblematical of the fragrance of his virtues. 'In our age,' says the author, 'devotion to him is universal throughout the habitable world: but *why*, says the modern critic, *why* were the glorious merits of St. Joseph so long concealed? *Why* not generally made known to Christians before the fourteenth century?' The author answers that 'true believers are to tremble at *whys* and *wherefores* in divine government—it is unpardonable presumption of enter into the Omnipotent's hidden secrets, and damnable curiosity to dive into his secret decrees.' He observes that he cannot forbear remarking how unjust the common pencils are to St. Joseph, by representing him as to age and features, not becoming the foster-father of Jesus, and the spouse of Mary; he says that in all probability the Son of God would not provide a husband to

his beloved mother, who had the least personal defect; and that although he might be forty when the virgin was fourteen, yet he ought not to be so exposed as leaning on a staff, and so decrepit as to be almost useless, when he was vigorous and able to work thirty years in serving the sacred family both at home and abroad. He adds, that St. Bernard thinks St. Joseph was the likeness of Mary, and that the learned Gerson affirms that the face of Jesus resembled the face of Joseph; and he remarks that, as 'It would be reviving the blasphemous heresy of stigmatized Cerinthus to assert, that Jesus was by nature the real son of Joseph, yet he must be looked on as his legitimate parent, and entitled in all things to the right of paternity except that of generation, which the eternal Father supplied, by infusing into the husband of Mary, a paternal love for her son Jesus. A child lawfully conceived in matrimony, may strictly call the husband father, which title the Holy Ghost honours St. Joseph with, by the mouth of the immaculate Virgin: *your father and I have sought you sorrowing.* (St. Luke, ii. 48.) Children reputed by common fame to belong to such a parent, or those who are adopted, have a right to inherit titles and patrimonies; much more Jesus who was born of Mary, Joseph's wife; for according to the approved axiom of the law, *whatever grows in, or is built upon another's soil, belongs to the owner thereof.*' The work has many accounts of miracles performed by Joseph; the following may be quoted as an example—'It is a matter of fact, that a person of quality having lost all his children by witchcraft a few days after their birth, was counselled by one who had too great an insight into that black and diabolical art, to name his next son Joseph; it was done, and the child lived to inherit his father's estate and honour.' There are also in this book, directions for choosing St. Joseph as a patron, with his office, litany, a hymn in his honour, his beads, seven prayers in honour of his seven dolours and seven joys, and other exercises. A prelude to one of the meditations is in these words: 'Imagine yourselves to be in the temple of Jerusalem when the high-priest gave to Joseph the immaculate Virgin Mary. How the patriarch espoused her, by putting *a ring* upon her finger, with other ceremonies according to the written law, in token that he made her partaker of all his goods, and took her under his protection.'

The *Wedding-Ring* of MARY and JOSEPH was of onyx or amethyst, wherein was discerned a representation of the flowers that budded on his rod. It was discovered in the year 996, in this way. Judith, the wife of Hugo, Marquess of Etruria, being a great lover of jewels, employed one Ranerius, a skilful jeweller and lapidary of Clusium, to go to Rome to make purchases for her. There he formed an intimacy with a jeweller from Jerusalem, who, when Ranerius was about to return home, professed great affection for him, and offered him a ring as a pledge of friendship. Ranerius looking upon it as of little value, declined it with a slight compliment; but the jeweller from the Holy Land bade him not contemn it, for it was the wedding-ring of Joseph and the blessed Virgin, and made him take it with an especial charge that it should not fall into the hands of a wicked person. Ranerius, still careless of what he said, threw it into a little chest with articles of inferior value, where it remained

until his forgetfulness cost him dear: for when his only son was ten years old, (the number of years that his father disregarded the Virgin's ring), the boy died and was carried to his burial. But, behold, as the hearse went forward, on a sudden the dead child rose from the coffin, ordered the bearers to stop, and calling to his father, told him, that by favour of the blessed Virgin he was come from heaven to tell him that as he had contemned religion by concealing her most holy ring in a common heap, he must immediately send for it, and publicly produce it, that it might be openly venerated. The chest being brought and delivered into the son's hand, he presently found the ring, although he had never seen it before; then most reverently kissing it, and showing it to the spectators, they religiously adored it during the joyful pealing of the bells which rung of their own accord; whereupon, ordering himself to be carried to the place where he desired to be buried, he delivered the ring to the curate of the parish, and then laying himself down in the coffin, he was interred.— This ring wrought many miracles: ivory ones touched with it worn by women in difficult labour relieved them; an impression of it in wax, applied to the hip, removed the sciatica; it cured diseases of the eyes, reconciled married people that quarrelled, and drove out devils. Five centuries afterwards, in 1473, the church of Musthiola, where it effected these wonders, becoming ruinous, the ring was deposited with a religious community of the Franciscans at Clusium. One of the brethren of the order named Wintherus, a crafty German, and very wicked, having obtained from the magistrates an appointment to shew the ring, on a certain occasion after exhibiting it at the end of his sermon stooped down, as if he was putting it into the place provided for it, but instead of doing so he slipped it up his sleeve, and privily conveyed himself and the ring from the city across the water. All was well so far, but when he got into a neighbouring field it suddenly became dark, so that not knowing which way to go, but well knowing what was the matter, he hung the ring on a tree, and falling on the ground penitently confessed his sin to it, and promised to return to Clusium if it would dispel the darkness. On taking it down it emitted a great light which he took advantage of to travel to Perusia, where he sojourned with the Augustan friars till he determined on making another effort to carry it into Germany. He was again hindered by the darkness returning. It infested him and the whole city for twenty days. Still he resolved not to return to Clusium, but told his story in great confidence to his landlord, one Lucas Jordanus, who with great cunning represented to him his danger from the Clusians, and the benefits he would receive from the Perusians if he bestowed the ring on that city. Wintherus followed his advice. As soon as the ring was shown to the people the darkness disappeared, and Wintherus was well provided for in the house of the magistrate. Meanwhile the bishop of Clusium coming to Perusia, endeavoured in vain to regain the relic. The city of Sena sent an ambassador to assist the claim of the Clusians; he was entertained by the Perusians with great respect, but they informed him that having used no sacrilegious arts to obtain the blessed Virgin's ring, they respected her too much to restore it to its owners; that they received it within their walls with as much respect

as they would do the Ark of the Covenant, and would defend their holy prize by force of arms. The bereaved Clusians laid the case before Pope Sixtus IV., and the Perusians did the same. Wintherus was ordered by the Pope on the importunity of the Clusians, into closer confinement; but as the heat abated he passed a merry life in Perusia, and at his death the Franciscans and the canons of St. Lawrence disputed for the possession of his body. This honour was in the end obtained by the latter, in whose chapel he was buried before an altar dedicated to St. Joseph and the Virgin; and a monument was erected by the Perusians to the ring-stealer's memory, with an inscription which acknowledged that the receivers were as much indebted to him for it as if it had been his own property and he had offered it of his own accord. In the pontificate of Innocent III. A. D. 1486, the arbitrament of the dispute was left to Cardinal Piccolominæus, who adjudged the relic to Perusia. The important decision was celebrated in that city by every imaginable expression of joy, and for the greater honour of the sacred ring a chapel was built for it in the church of St. Lawrence, with an inscription, informing the reader that there the untouched mother, the queen of heaven, and her spouse, were worshipped; that there in the sanctuary of her wedding ring, she lent a gracious ear to all prayers; and, that he that gave the ring (*Wintherus*), defended it by his protection. The pencil was called in to grace the more substantial labours of the architect. A curious picture represented the high-priest in the temple of Jerusalem, taking Joseph and Mary by their hands to espouse them with the venerated ring: one side of the solemnity was graced by a band of virgins, the companions of Mary during her education; the other side was occupied by a company of young men, Joseph's kinsmen of the house of David, holding their withered rods. The imagination of the artist employed one of these in breaking his own rod across his knee, as envious of Joseph's, which by its miraculous budding, had ended the hopes of all who by the proclamation had become candidates for her hand. In addition to this an altar was raised and dedicated to St. Joseph; his statue was placed at its side; his birth-day was kept with great pomp; a society of seculars called his Fraternity was instituted to serve in the chapel jointly with the clergy of St. Lawrence; and on the joint festival of the Virgin and her spouse, the splendid solemnity was heightened by the solemn exhibition of their ring, and by the picture of their miraculous nuptials being uncovered to the eager gaze of the adoring multitude.—*Bp. Patrick's Devot. of Rom. Ch.* p. 46.

The miracles of the wedding ring of Joseph and Mary were trifling in comparison to its miraculous powers of multiplying itself. It existed in different churches of Europe at the same time, and, each ring being as genuine as the other, each was paid the same honours by the devout.

V. THE DESCENT INTO HELL.

'Mr. Warton, who smiles at the idea of their having anciently committed to the blacksmiths the handling of *the Purification*, an old play so called, would have had still greater reason, could he have assigned with truth to the company of taylors *the Descent into Hell*.'

Rev. John Brand, *Hist. Newcastle*, v. ii. p. 370. n.

THE Coventry Mystery of Christ's Descent into Hell, consists of only six verses;[a] in one of which Christ expresses his determination to release the souls 'from the cindery cell.' Such brevity was occasioned, perhaps, by the subject being very hacknied. But the Chester Mystery of the same subject[b] is a tedious paraphrase of circumstances in the Gospel of Nicodemus;[c] to which is added in one of the copies[d] by way of epilogue, the lamentation of a cheating Chester alewife, on being compelled to take up her abode with the devils; one of whom she endeavours to wheedle by calling him her 'sweet Mr. Sir Sathanas,' from whom she receives the compliment of being called his 'dear darling.'

In strictness, the prints that I have, which illustrate this event, should have been described with the other engravings from Apocryphal New Testament story, but it seemed better to connect them with other particulars on the same subject; and accord-

[a] Cotton MS. Pageant xxxiii. [b] Harl. MS. 2124.

[c] Apoc. N. Test. *Nicodemus*, xiii. 3. to xx. 14.—The Gospel of Nicodemus in Anglo-Saxon, by Ælfric Abbot, of St. Albans, in the year 950, with fragments of the Old Testament in the same language, was published by Dr. Hickes at Oxford, in 1698.—*Lewis's Hist. of Transl. of the Bible*, p. 8.

[d] Harl. MS. 2013.

ingly they succeed the following extracts from the Apocryphal Gospel on which they are founded.

Nicodemus, xii.—3. In the depth of hell in the blackness of darkness, on a sudden there appeared the colour of the sun like gold, and a substantial purple coloured light, enlightening the place.

xv.—1. While all the saints of hell were rejoicing, behold Satan the prince and captain of death, said to the prince of hell.——2. Prepare to receive Jesus of Nazareth himself, who boasted that he was the Son of God, and yet was a man afraid of death, and said my soul is sorrowful even to death.

xvi.—19. The mighty Lord appeared in the form of a man.——20. And with his invincible power visited those who sat in the deep darkness by iniquity, and the shadow of death by sin.

xvii.—13. Then the king of glory, trampling upon death, seized the prince of hell, deprived him of all his power,

xix.—12. And taking hold of Adam by his right hand, he ascended from hell, and all the saints of God followed him.

Engravings.

1. A landscape with a view of the earth beneath, containing a semi-section of hell, which is a globe divided into four parts: 1. The devil sitting on the body of Judas in the centre, surrounded by a body of fire containing the damned in torment. 2. The compartment surrounding the centre is the flame of purgatory, with its inhabitants. 3. The next circle is the limbo of infants whose heat seems to be less fierce. 4. The outer circle is the limbo of the Fathers to which Christ has penetrated from his grave, with a banner surrounded by a light cloud filled with angels. Engraved by *Ant. Wierix*, after *B. Pass*—small folio.

2. Christ within the porch of hell bearing a banner in his left hand; Adam who holds the cross of wood, with Eve and a crowd of others are behind him; he is stooping down to receive persons who are grasping his right hand from a dark entrance; a furious devil is striking at him with the end of a pointed staff, from a square hole above; hell-gates lie broken on the ground, while a demon flying in the air blows a horn. A fine engraving on wood by *Albert Durer*, 1510—small folio.

3. The same subject varied a little. An engraving on copper by *A. Durer*—small square quarto.

4. The same subject further varied. Engraved by *A. Durer*, 1512, duodecimo.

5. The same subject more varied. Engraved by *Jerome Wierix*—small.

6. Christ bursting hell gates; a devil throwing stones at him from the battlement—a very early engraving on wood, before the time of Wolgemuth.

7. A devil holding up the broken gate with his left arm, and beating back Adam and Eve with a large splinter of wood in his right hand to prevent their escape. Engraved by *Martin Schoen.*

The 'Pilgremage of the sowle,' a spiritual romance with beauties that delighted our forefathers, was printed by Caxton, in 1483. I have a MS. in French from which Caxton's work is translated, with fifty-six coloured drawings interspersed by the amanuensis, three of which are entire sections of the subterranean hell, divided into compartments, conformably to the print by Wierix. This arrangement of hell is attributed to Cardinal Bellarmine, but the Cardinal only repeated what had been previously described; for my MS. was written in the year 1435, a century before the Cardinal was born. From an appropriation of punishment to the seven deadly sins, it has sometimes been supposed that hell has been divided into as many compartments. The goldsmiths Baldini and Boticelli, very early, if not the earliest engravers, executed a print wherein the damned are represented in separate places of torment which resemble ovens, each inscribed with a particular vice;[a] and Erasmus mentions certain divines who make as many divisions in hell and purgatory, and describe as many different sorts and degrees of punishment as if they were very well acquainted with the soil and situation of these infernal regions.[b]

But to return from this excursion: I would observe that in the '*Boeck van Jhesus leven*,'[c] there is a wood engraving of the

[a] Landseer's Lectures on Engraving, p. 251.

[b] Erasmus's Praise of Folly, 12mo. 1724, p. 109.

[c] Mentioned at p. 112.

Descent into Hell, representing Christ standing with his banner in front of hell, its gates off the hinges, and Adam and Eve with other souls praying to him for their release: by the side of this cut the devil is depicted on his knees with his claws folded across his breast, and bending in a posture of supplication. There are also wood cuts of this subject in two editions of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' a block book; and another in the 'Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,' besides others in works of almost equal curiosity, whose titles escape my recollection. It seems that there was formerly in Canterbury cathedral a painted glass window of 'Christus spoliat Infernum.'[a] Probably it was put up as a suitable illustration to the Gospel of Nicodemus which Erasmus, when he visited England, saw chained to the pillars of that cathedral for the edification of the visitors.[b] The ancients represented Christ like a mighty champion entering the territories of hell, and fighting for the space of three days with the devil till he had broken the strength of his malice, and quite destroyed his power and force, and brought with him the holy souls he desired to release.[c]

Bernardinus de Bustis in his seventeenth sermon on the Rosary, printed at Hagenaw in 1580, affirms, that the hole wherein the cross stood went down into limbus, a horrible prison, where the fathers were near to the horrible devils under the earth, and that the blood of Christ descended thereby, which when they felt they rejoiced, and then appeared the soul of Christ which illuminated the whole place; he saluted them, shook them by the hand, blessed them, and drew them out.[d] The concluding scene has been usually selected by the artist for the exercise of his pencil. The Gospel of Nicodemus seems to have been the principal source from whence poets and painters of former times described the Descent into Hell. Belief in the event may be

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[a] Ornaments of Churches Considered, 4to. appendix, p. 8.

[b] Erasmus's Colloquies by Baily, 8vo. 1725, p. 384.

[c] King's History of the Apostles Creed, 8vo. 1737, p. 223.

[d] Carlil on the Descent of Christ, 12mo. 1582, p. 98.

traced so far back as the second century. Though the various modifications that belief has undergone, rather belongs to theological inquiry, and would encumber mine, yet I propose to lay before the reader a few references concerning its antiquity and adaptation to popular understanding.

The Vision of Peirs Ploughman, a poem, written according to Warton, about 1384, but according to Dr. Whitaker about 1362, and ascribed to Robert Langland, a secular priest in the county of Salop, was first printed in 1553, and lastly from a MS. contemporary with the author in 1813.[a] This ancient work contains an elaborate description of Christ's descent into hell, which on comparison will be found to have been taken from the Gospel of Nicodemus: some extracts are annexed with their paraphrase in modern English prose subjoined.

'Wiche a light and wich a leom lay by fore helle.'[b]
What a light and a gleam appeared in the front of hell!

'Lo helle myghte nat holde bote openede tho God tholede
And let out *Symonde's* sones.'[c]

Lo, hell could not contain but opened to those who awaited God, and let out the sons of Simeon. (Nicodemus, xiii. 13, &c.)

'*Attolite portas principes vestras, elevamini porte eternales*, &c.
A voys loude in that light to Lucifer seide
Princes of this palys un do the gates,
For here cometh with coronne the kynge of alle glorie.
Then syhede Satan. and seide—[d]

'*Lift up your great gates, and ye everlasting doors be ye opened.*' *In that light a voice cried aloud to Lucifer: Princes of this palace open the gates, for here cometh with his crown the King of glory. Then Satan groaned and said,*

'Ac rys up Ragamoffyn. and reche me alle the barres
Ar we thorw bryghtnesse be blent. barre we the gates
Cheke we and cheyne we. and eche chyne stoppe
And thow Astrot hot out. and have oute knaves
Coltyng and al hus kynne. our catel to save
Brynston boraunt brenning. out casteth hit

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[a] The Vision of Peirs Ploughman, by Dr. T. D. Whitaker, 1813, 4to.
[b] Ibid. p. 346. [c] Ibid. p. 353. [d] Ibid. p. 354.

Al hot in here hevedes. that entren in ny the walles
Setteth bowes of brake. a brasene gonnes
And sheteth out shot e ynowh.'[a]

Arise Ragamuffin and bring all the bars, before we are blinded with the brightness. Bar we now the gates, bolt we and chain we, and stop up every chink. And thou Astaroth go forth and muster the servants, Colting and all his kindred, to save our chattels. Cast boiling and burning brimstome, all hot, upon their heads who shall enter within these walls. Set the steel bows, and brazen guns, and shoot out shot in plenty.

'Yf he reve me of my ryght. he robbeth me by mastrie
For by ryght and reson. the reukes that beon here
Body and soule beth myne. bothe good and ille
For he hyms self hit seide. that syre is of helle
That *Adam* and *Eve*. and al hus issue
Sholden deye with deol. and here dwelle evere
Yf thei touchede a treo. oth' toke ther of an appel
Thus thees lorde of light such a lawe made
And sutthe he is so leel a lord. ich leyve that he wol nat
Reven ous of oure ryght. sutthe reson hem dampned
And sutthe we han be seosed. sevene thowsend wynt.'[b]

If he bereave me of my right, he shall rob me by force; since by right and reason the rooks that are here are mine, body and soul, good and bad: for he himself who is Lord of hell said, that Adam and Eve and all their issue should die with sorrow, and dwell here for ever if they touched a tree, or took an apple therefrom. Thus this Lord of light made such a law, and since he is a Lord of truth, I believe that he will not deprive us of our right, because they are rightfully damned, and because we have been seized of them seven thousand years.

'What lord ert thu quath Lucifer. a voys a loud seyde
The lord of myght and of man. that made alle thynges
Duke of this dymme place. a nou undo the gates
That *Crist* nowe comen in. the kynges sone of hevene
And with that breth helle brake. with alle Beliales barres
For eny wye other warde. wyde openede ze gates.'[c]

What Lord art thou? said Lucifer. A voice cried aloud, The Lord of power and of man, who made all things, the ruler of this dark place, open the gates forthwith, that Christ the son of the King of heaven may come in. And with that breath hell burst, and all Belial's bars, notwithstanding the guard, the gates flew wide open.

'Lo me her quath our lorde. lyf and soule bothe
For alle synful soules. to save oure beyere ryght.'[d]

Behold me here quoth our Lord, both life and soul for all sinners to save our brethren.

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[a] Ibid. p. 354. [b] Ibid. p. 355. [c] Ibid. p. 358. [d] Ibid. p. 359.

'For the lesynge that thow Lucifer. lowe til *Eve*.
Thow shalt abygge bitere quath God. and bond hym with cheynes
Astrott and alleo there. hudden hem in heornes
Thei dorst nat loken on oure Lorde. the leste of hem alle
Bote leot hym leden forth wich hym luste. and leve wiche him lykede.'[a]

For the falsehoods wherewith thou Lucifer liedst unto Eve, thou shalt abide crushed, quoth God; and he bound him with chains. Astorath and the rest hid themselves in droves. The most distant of them all durst not look on Christ, but let him take away whom he desired, and leave whom he pleased.

A volume in the British Museum[b] containing a collection of MS. Poems, dated the 34th year of K. Henry VI. (about 1456), preserves a poem entituled, *What Chryst hath done for us*; wherein Christ says,

To helle I went this chartre to schewe,
Before thy fo Sathanas, that schrewe;
He was schent, and brought to grounde,
Thorow maylys bore, and sperys wounde;
A charter com'an made was
Bytwene me and Sathanas,
All my catel to have away
That he me reft——

In the same volume *Our Lady's Song of the Chyld that soked hyr brest*, relates that after the death of Christ,

Then to helle he toke ye way
  Wt woundys wyde & all blody;
Ye foule fendys to affray
  Wt hym he bar ye cros of tre.

Helle gatys full opyn to put fre
  When my sone wyth hond hem blest,
Ye fendys roryd when they hym se:—
  Ye chyld ys resyn that soke my brest.

Adam & Eve wyth hym he take,
  Kyng Davyd, Moyses, & Salamon;
And haryed hell every noke,
  Wythyn hyt left he soulys non,

But fendys yn hyt to dwelle allon
  Lucyfer ther hard he prest

[a] Ibid. p. 363. [b] Harl. MS. 5396.

Theryn to byde as stylle as ston:—
The chyld is resyn that soke my brest.

Thus 'comyfte he the fendys fele,
And toke hys pray that he had boght;
And put hym yn to endles wele,—
Ther joye & blys fayles noght.

The Worlde and the Chylde, a Morality printed in 1522, mentions the release of the souls. Perseverance, one of the dramatis personæ, rehearsing 'the xii. Artycles of the fayth,' says,

The fyfth artycle I shall yo tell;
Than the spryghte of godhed went to hell,
And brough' ut the soules that there dyde dwell
By the power of his own myght.

In the articles of, *Pierce Ploughman's Crede*,[a] an old production, but not so old as the *Vision*, it is rehearsed that Christ was crucified,

And sythen his blessed body was in a stone byried
And descended a doun to the derk helle
And fet out our formfaders.

William Dunbar's *Resurrection of Chryste*,[b] a Poem in the Bannatyne MS. 1568, begins—

Done is a battell on the dragon blak,
Our campioun Chryst confoundit hes his force,
The yettis of hell ar brokin with a crak,
The signe triumphall rasit is of the croce;
The divillis trymmillis with hiddous voce,
The saulis ar borrowit, and to the bliss can go,
Chryst with his blud our ransoms dois indoce;
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

* * *

The fo is chasit, the battell is done ceis,
The presone brokin, the jevellours fleit and flemit;
The weir is gon, confermit is the peis,
The fetteris lowsit, and the dungeon temit, &c.

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[a] Pierce the Ploughman's Crede was first printed in 1553.

[b] Ancient Scottish Poems, 12mo. Edinb. 1770, p. 85.

Bishop Corbet, in his witty Itinerary of

> Foure Clerkes of Oxford, doctours two, and two
> That would be docters,

laments the secularization of church appurtenances at Banbury by the puritans, who he describes as,

> ——————— They which tell
> That Christ hath nere descended into hell,
> But to the grave.[a]

Not to trouble the reader with further poetical recognitions of this subject, he is presented with a few opinions more gravely delivered by persons of higher authority in other respects, and some of them living in the earliest ages.

John Boys, dean of Canterbury, where he died in 1625, says in one of his sermons, that 'hell is under the earth and twofold; namely, 1. The pit of the dead or the grave which is *upper hell.* 2. The pit of the damned, which is the *nethermost hell;* and that *Christ descended into the* nethermost hell *where sinners are punished eternally,* not to suffer any punishment, but as a conqueror to triumph over death and the devil in their own kingdoms.'[b]

Bishop Latimer in a sermon before King Edward VI. says, 'I offer it unto you to consider and weigh it, there be some great clerks that take my part, and I perceive not what evil can come of it, in saying, that *our Saviour Christ not only in soul descended into hell, but also he suffered in hell such pains as the damned spirits did suffer there.* Surely I believe verily, for my part, that he suffered the pains of hell proportionally, as it correspondeth and answereth to the whole sin of the world. He would not suffer only bodily in the garden and upon the cross, but also in his soul, when it was from the body, which was a pain due for our sin. Some write so, and I can believe it, that he suffered in

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[a] Corbet's Poems by Gilchrist, p. 202. Richard Corbet was successively chaplain to James I., dean of Christchurch, Bishop of Oxford, and Bishop of Norwich: he died in 1632.

[b] Boys's Postils, fol. 1629. p. 956.

the very place, and I cannot tell what it is, call it what ye will, even in the scalding house, in the uglisomeness of the place, in the presence of the place, such pains as our capacity cannot attain unto.'[a]

CALVIN held the opinion that *the soul of Christ* in the descent into hell, really *suffered the pains of the damned*, and that those which are saved by his death should have endured in hell the torments of the damned, but that he being their surety, suffered those torments for them.[b]

AUGUSTINE, *a father of the church in the 4th and 5th century*, says, that he could not find where the habitation of the souls of the just is in Scripture called hell; that he never met with the word 'Hell' used in a good sense in the canonical Scripture; that it is probable there were two hells divided by the great gulph, one where the just were at peace; the other where the souls were tormented; that the ancient saints were in a place remote from torment, yet that they were in hell till *the blood of Christ, and his descent thither, delivered them; and that since that time the souls of believers go to hell no more.*[c]

JEROME, *a father of the church in the 4th century*, affirms that the blood of Christ quenched the flaming sword at the entrance of paradise, that the thief entered it with *Christ, followed by the souls of all the saints who had been before detained in hell*; and that the souls of all good men do now instantly pass to paradise upon their dissolution.[d]

ATHANASIUS, *a father of the church in the 4th century*, has a piece attributed to him by some, but denied by others, which enjoins the reader to 'remember the twelfth hour, for in that *our Saviour descended* into hell; hell shuddered in beholding him, and cried aloud, who is he that cometh with great power? who is he that trampleth on the brazen portals of hell, and unbindeth the chain of my captives?'[e] Bishop Pearson says that

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[a] Latimer's Sermons, 4to. 1635, p. 86.

[b] Pearson on the Creed, fol. 1741, p. 231.

[c] King on the Creed, p. 211. [d] Ibid. p. 210.

[e] Hayley's Essay on Old Maids, v. ii. p. 195.

Athanasius, speaking of Christ triumphing over Satan, mentions *hell spoiled*, to wit, *of those souls which, before, it kept in hold.*[a]

EPIPHANIUS, *a father of the church in the 4th century*, writes that the soul of *Christ descended into* the nethermost parts where Death and Hell being ignorant of his divinity, assaulted his soul; that he broke the sting of death, rent in sunder the adamantine bars, loosed the bonds of hell, *and brought from thence* SOME *of the captive souls*, as a pledge to those he left behind, that they should arrive unto the same liberty.[b]

ORIGEN *and* AMBROSE, *fathers of the church in the 3rd century*, were of opinion, that before the death of Christ the souls of the patriarchs went to hell, where they remained in joy and happiness till the separated soul of *Christ descended* into those infernal regions, and breaking the bonds thereof, *freed the captives and led them into heaven*, whither the souls of all believers do *now* instantly go.[c]

CLEMENT ALEXANDRINUS, *a father of the church in the 2nd century*, was of opinion that *Christ descended* down into hell to preach the Gospel to the departed souls, and that he *saved* many of them, that is, *all that believed;* and that the *apostles* also after their death *descended likewise* into the same place, and for the same purpose.[d]

PRUDENTIUS, *a Christian Poet*, who flourished in the fourth century, speaking of Christ's resurrection, says, 'I remember that a corporeal God easily came up again from *Phlegethon*,' the place wherein the souls are tormented. In another of his pieces he addresses Lazarus in these terms, 'Tell us whose voice you heard under the lowest places of the earth, and what force went through the hidden places where the dead make their abode: since when Christ recalled you, and ordered you to come forth from the black depth wherein you was, you heard as if you had been near. By what so neighbouring an abyss is the kingdom of

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[a] Pearson on the Creed, p. 250, *n*.

[b] King on the Creed, p. 223.

[c] King on the Creed, p. 209.

[d] Daille's Right use of the Fathers, 4to. 1675, Part ii. p. 67.

darkness almost joined with the upper parts of the earth? where is the dismal *Tenarus* by which they go down through a vast extent? and that hidden river which rolls flames in its channel which nothing can fill?' The same Poet speaking in one of his Hymns of Christ's descent into the place of torment, relates that 'the spirits of the wicked, the night in which God came from the lakes of Acheron had some solemn releases from their torments. *Tartarus* languished with milder punishments; the people of the shades free from fire, were glad to have some rest in their prison, and the rivers of brimstone did not boil as they were wont to do.'[a]

From these citations it will appear that the descent of Christ into hell, and his carrying away the souls, is a most ancient doctrine. In one thing *all* the Fathers agree, that *hell* is below the surface of the earth, and *most* of them suppose in its centre, where the souls of the dead both good and bad await the final doom; the good in a state of quiescence, the bad in a state of torment. They all likewise agree that Christ descended into hell, but there is great diversity of opinion among them as to the *part* of hell into which he descended. Some believe that Christ descended to the souls of those who died in the fear of God, and led them with him into heaven; some again think that the souls of the good are still in a subterranean place which they call Abraham's bosom, where they are to stay till the day of resurrection; others, who are of opinion that hell denotes only a place of torment, say, that Christ really descended into the place where the devils and wicked men are tormented, and they believe that he delivered the souls suffering punishment for their sins. Some again think that Christ released *some* only of those souls, others that he altogether *emptied* hell; and this was CYRIL's opinion, who assures us that when Christ was risen he *left the devil alone in hell.*[b] They who thought that hell was wholly emptied and *every* soul released from pain, were branded with the name of heretics; but to believe that *many* were delivered was both by them and many others

[a] Le Clerc's Lives, 8vo. 1696, p. 299, 303.

[b] Ibid. p. 301.

counted orthodox. AUGUSTINE in his book of Heresies reckons *this* as the seventy-ninth *heresy*, for Augustine was one of those who held that the faithful before the death of Christ were with God and already happy, and needed no translation, and that the object of Christ's descent into hell was to deliver *some* who were *in torment*, while others who were in that state he left.[a]

BISHOP PEARSON thinks that for above five hundred years after Christ there were very few, if any, of those who believed that Christ delivered the saints from hell, who at the same time believed that he left *all* the *damned* there.[b] At the present time the schools deliver it as a point of faith and an infallible certainty that the soul of Christ descending into hell, delivered the souls of all the saints, and conferred upon them actual beatitude.[c] Accordingly in the celebration of mass, the priest takes the cloth from the chalice to signify the removal of the stone from Christ's tomb; immediately afterwards he elevates the host to signify Christ's resurrection; and he then divides the host into two parts, one of which signifies the joy in heaven at the resurrection of Christ, and the other part signifies the joy of the fathers on their being delivered. In a child's book containing instructions for hearing mass,[d] the prayer directed to be said by the child at this part of the service, recites that Christ 'descended into *limbo*, and delivered thence the souls of the fathers till then detained there;' and the wood cut, over this prayer, represents the descent and the broken gates, Christ lifting out the souls, and the terror of the devils.

It appears then that the *descent into hell*, has been perpetuated through all ages of the Catholic church in some form or other. Addressed in former times to the meanest capacities of the ignorant by dramatic representations, and by circumstantial relations, from the Gospel of Nicodemus, through a variety of old works printed for religious instruction and devotional exercise, it is not

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[a] Pearson on the Creed, p. 241.

[b] Ibid. p. 246. [c] Ibid. p. 245.

[d] Daily Exercises for Children, Keating, 1821, 24mo. p. 70.

wonderful that the *bodily* descent should have obtained popular belief. They who desire to inquire concerning the theological tenet, may consult the books I have cited with advantage, and especially what Bishop Pearson says in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. From that work, which is a storehouse of information upon the point, and Lord King's History, Bishop Horsley seems to have obtained every fact and argument that he uses in his celebrated sermon on *the descent.*

The Rev. WILLIAM CRASHAW, Preacher at the Temple Church, published in 1616 his '*Clear Confession of the Christian Faith, according to the order of the Apostles Creed,*' wherein he says, 'I also beleeue, that being vpon the same crosse, dying and yeelding vp his spirit vnto God his father, hee descended into hell, that is to say, that he hath truely tasted and experimented the greatest distresse and dolours of death, together with the paines and flames of hell fire, that is to say, the fury, wrath, and seuere iudgement of God vpon him, as if hee had beene a man halfe damned because of the sinnes of the world, which he bare vpon him. See here that which I simply vnderstand by the descent of Christ into hel. Moreouer, I know that this article was not in the beginning, in the Creed, and that it was otherwise vnderstood and interpreted by diuers that adiudged Christ truely and indeed to haue descended into the place of the damned, alledging the text of Saint *Peter,* which I confess from my selfe to bee hidden for the present.—I neither beleeue nor confesse that there are any but two places in the other world, that is to say, paradise for the faithful and chosen with the angels, and hel for the vnfaithfull and reprobate with the diuells.' Between Bishop Horsley's sermon affirming the subterranean descent of the soul of Christ, and this confession, there is a wide difference. Carlil's old treatise before quoted, is a learned and excellent exposition of the subject from the passage in *Peter,* with abundance of curious information: I much regret that limitation of room and apprehension that I have already too much diverged, will not suffer me to extract from it.[a]

[a] As the *Descent* of Christ into hell to release the saints, is a doctrine of the

Catholic Church, so it prepares to celebrate his *Ascension* into heaven by Litanies and public processions during three days before Holy Thursday, the anniversary of that event. These are called Rogation days. In these processions the cross is borne, banners are carried, and the bells are rung to chase the fiends; as they are also when it thunders, to abash and drive away the wicked spirits in the air that cause the tempest. The Golden Legend says, that the bearing of banners with the cross on Rogation days, is to represent the victory of Christ in his resurrection and ascension; that the people followed the cross and the banners, as Christ was followed when he ascended to heaven with a great prey; and that in some churches, especially in France, it was the custom to bear a dragon with a long tail filled with chaff: the first two days it was borne *before* the cross, with the tail *full*, but on the third day it was borne *after* the cross, with the tail *empty*; by which it was understood that on the first two days the devil reigned in the world, but that on the third day he was dispossessed of his kingdom.

In this procession it is clear that the devil was represented by the dragon. 'There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the *dragon*; and the great *dragon* was cast out, that old serpent called the *devil*.' (Rev. xii. 7, 9.) Sparke in his '*Primitive Devotion*,' (1673, 8vo. p. 565,) cites Augustine to show that Michael was allegorical of Christ, 'so that the meaning (of *Rev.* xii.) is but briefly this, that Christ and his members fight against the devil and his.' Seeing that the dragon in the ecclesiastical processions on Rogation days was made to allegorize the kingdom of Satan and its overthrow, I with much deference suggest for the consideration of antiquaries, who suppose that the dragon of the pageants is the dragon of St. George, whether, on the contrary, this figure may not be in truth the dragon of St. Michael, or in other words the devil. My notion is strengthened by the statement in the Golden Legend, that the dragon was at least as common to the Rogation processions abroad, as to those in England. But leaving this subject, I purpose a short discursion concerning *Michael*, the dragon's conqueror.

The author of the '*Protestant Beadsman*,' (1822, p. 83.) observes, apparently from Sparkes's Devotion, that *Michael is noticed 'by St. Jude as fighting personally with the devil about the body of Moses*;' and to this he affixes as a note, that 'it has been plausibly conjectured that *the body of Moses* signifies the Mosaic law, as *the body of Christ* is often used for the Christian church; and that the attempt of the devil which Michael resisted was to rebuild and restore the temple.' Now concerning this passage in Jude, there is a difficulty which, it seems to me, had the author of the Protestant Beadsman been acquainted with, would have restrained him from attaching much importance to the signification that he supposes to be 'plausibly conjectured' respecting the *body of Moses*; yet in adducing this difficulty I desire to be understood as wishing to avoid offence to a writer whose amenity bespeaks corresponding civility of demeanor; nor is it produced with the slightest view to its defence, but simply as it is proposed elsewhere.

The passage in Jude, (verse 9.) is in these words, '*Yet Michael the archangel*,

when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee.' Michaelis says, that the whole history of this dispute has the appearance of a Jewish fable, which it is not very easy at present to discover, because the book from which it is supposed to have been taken by the author of the epistle is no longer extant. Origen found the story of Michael's dispute with the devil about the body of Moses, in a Jewish Greek book called the *Assumption of Moses*, which was extant in his time though it is now lost, and he was thoroughly persuaded that Jude's quotation was from it. In consequence of this he himself quoted another passage from the *Assumption of Moses*, as a work of authority, in proof of the temptation of Adam and Eve by the devil. The Jews imagined the person of Moses was so holy that God could find no reason for permitting him to die: and that nothing but the sin committed by Adam and Eve in Paradise, which brought death into the world, was the cause why Moses did not live for ever. Now, in the dispute between Michael and the devil about Moses, the devil was the accuser, and demanded the death of Moses. Michael therefore reproached him with having possessed the serpent which seduced Eve, and with being the cause of that sin which occasioned the death of Moses. Œcumenius has a passage which contains a part of the story related in the *Assumption of Moses*, and which explains the reason of the dispute concerning Moses's body. According to this passage Michael was employed in burying Moses; but the devil endeavoured to prevent it by saying that he had murdered an Egyptian, and was therefore unworthy of an honourable burial. The '*Phetirath Moshe*,' a Hebrew book written in a later age, contains a story which though probably ancient, is not the same with that cited either by Origen or Œcumenius, because the devil, Samael, does not dispute about the burial of Moses, nor does Michael reproach the devil with having possessed the serpent which seduced Eve, nor with saying to him, 'The Lord rebuke thee;' but he himself rebukes the devil, and calls him 'thou wicked wretch;' and Moses calls him the same. This is the reverse of that related in the Epistle concerning the dispute of Michael with the devil. Michaelis having thus expressed himself, proceeds to observe that the substance of the story related in this book, (the Phetirath Moshe,) as far as concerns the present inquiry, is as follows:

'Moses requests of God under various pretences, either that he may not die at all, or at least that he may not die before he comes into Palestine. This request he makes in so froward and petulant a manner, as is highly unbecoming not only a great prophet, but even any man, who has expectations of a better life after this. In short, Moses is here represented in the light of a despicable Jew, begging for a continuance of life, and devoid both of Christian faith, and of heathen courage: and it is therefore not improbable, that the inventor of this fable made himself the model, after which he formed the character of Moses. God argues, on the contrary, with great patience and forbearance, and replies to what Moses had alleged relative to the merit of his own good work. Further, it is God who says to Moses that he must die on account of the sin of Adam: to which Moses answers, that he ought to be excepted, because he was superior in merit

to Adam, Abraham, Isaac, &c. In the mean time, Samael, that is the angel of death, whom the Jews describe as the chief of the devils, rejoices at the approaching death of Moses. This is observed by Michael, who says to him, 'Thou wicked wretch, I grieve, and thou laughest.' Moses after his request had been repeatedly refused, invokes heaven and earth, and all the creatures around him, to intercede in his behalf. Joshua attempts to pray for him, but the devil stops Joshua's mouth, and and represents to him, really in Scripture style, the impropriety of such a prayer. The elders of the people, and with them all the children of Israel then offer to intercede for Moses: but their mouths are likewise stopped by a million eight hundred and forty thousand devils, which on a moderate calculation make three devils to one man. After this, God commands the angel Gabriel, to fetch the soul of Moses: but Gabriel excuses himself, saying, that Moses was too strong for him. Michael receives the same order, and excuses himself in the same manner, or, as other accounts say, under pretence that he had been the instructor of Moses, and therefore could not bear to see him die. But this last excuse, according to the Phetirath Moshe, was made by Zingheil the third angel, who received this command. Samael, that is, the devil, then offers his services; but God asks him how he would take hold of Moses, whether by his mouth, or by his hands, or by his feet, saying that every part of Moses was too holy for him to touch. The devil, however, insists on bringing the soul of Moses: yet he does not accuse him, for, on the contrary, he prizes him higher than Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The devil then approaches towards Moses to execute this voluntary commission: but as soon as he sees the shining countenance of Moses, he is seized with a violent pain, like that of a woman in labour.' Michaelis continues to relate that 'Moses instead of using the oriental salutation, 'Peace be with thee,' says to him in the words of Isaiah, ch. lvii. 21. (for in this work Moses frequently quotes Isaiah and the Psalms), 'There is no peace to the wicked.' The devil replies, that he was come by the order of God, to fetch his soul: but Moses deters him from the attempt by representing his own strength and holiness: and saying, 'Go thou wicked wretch, I will not give thee my soul,' he affrights the devil in such a manner that he immediately retires. The devil then returns to God, and relates what had passed: and receives an order to go a second time. The devil answers, that he would go every where God commanded him, even into hell, and into fire, but not to Moses. This remonstrance is, however, of no avail, and he is obliged to go back again. But Moses, who sees him coming with a drawn sword, meets him with his miraculous rod, and gives him so severe a blow with it, that the devil is glad to escape. Lastly, God himself comes: and Moses, having then no further hopes, requests only that his soul may not be taken out of his body by the devil. This request is granted him. Zinghiel, Gabriel, and Michael, then lay him on a bed; and the soul of Moses begins to dispute with God, and objects to its being taken out of a body, which was so pure and holy, that no fly dared to settle upon it. But God kisses Moses, and with a kiss extracts his soul from his body. Upon this, God utters a heavy lamentation; and thus the story in the Phetirath Moshe ends, without any men-

tion of a dispute about the burial of Moses's body. This last scene, therefore, which was contained in the Greek book seen by Origen, is wanting in the Hebrew. But in both of these works, Michael, as well as the devil, expresses the same sentiments in respect to Moses; in both these works the same spirit prevails!! and the concluding scene which was contained in the Greek book, is nothing more than a continuation of the same story, which is contained in the Hebrew.' Michaelis immediately after this puts the following question: 'I seriously ask every impartial judge, whether that person could be an inspired writer, or an immediate disciple of him who made manifest distinctions between the history of the Old Testament and the fabulous traditions of the Jews; who has quoted such a book as that which I have just described, and selected from it a passage so apparently fabulous. Various attempts have been made to remove this difficulty, but with very little success.'

This extract is from Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament*, translated and considerably augmented with notes by the present Bishop of Peterborough, (vol. iv. p. 378, &c.) printed at the expense of the university of Cambridge. As the Bishop's notes on the work have hitherto not extended beyond the Gospels and the Acts, he has not declared his opinion concerning this and other reasons stated by Michaelis, for hesitating to acknowledge that the Epistle of Jude is canonical. The passage in that Epistle which necessarily caused observation from Michaelis as a biblical critic, is seldom adduced in our day by protestant theologians. Its explication suggested as 'plausible' by the author of the *Protestant Beadsman*, and the introduction, as it appears to me, of Michael's dragon in the Rogation processions, as an allegorical personification of the devil, constitute my apology for introducing Michaelis's notice of Michael's contention with the devil about the body of Moses. To this may be added, that as its curiosity attracted my attention, this was another reason for supposing that some to whom Bishop Marsh's translation of Michaelis is unknown, would be interested by the story.

VI. HEARNE'S PRINT OF THE DESCENT INTO HELL.

Witch. A sailor's wife had chesnuts in her lap,
And mouncht, and mouncht, and mouncht;—Give me, quoth I;
Aroint thee, witch! the rump-fed ronyon cries.
Macbeth, Act i. Sc. 3.

Edgar. Saint Withold footed thrice the wold;
He met the nightmare, and her ninefold;
Bid her alight,
And troth her plight,
And *aroynt* thee, witch, *aroynt* thee!
King Lear, Act iii. Sc. 5.

THE original copper plate of Christ's Descent into Hell, engraved by Michael Burghers, from an ancient drawing, for Hearne the Antiquary, being in existence, I have caused impressions to be taken from it, and inserted one opposite. This print is raised into importance by Dr. Johnson taking it as an authority for *aroint*, a word used twice by Shakspeare, as may be seen in the above passages. Johnson in his notes, says, 'I had met with the word *aroint* in no other author till looking into Hearne's Collection, I found it in a very old drawing that he has published, in which St. Patrick is represented visiting hell, and putting the devils into great confusion by his presence, of whom one, that is driving the damned before him with a prong, has a label issuing out of his mouth with these words, *out, out, arongt;* of which the last is evidently the same with *aroint*, and used in the same sense as in this passage.'

Upon this Steevens remarks, 'Dr. Johnson's memory on the present occasion appears to have deceived him in more than a single instance. The subject of the above mentioned drawing is

Ihc xpc resurgens a mortuis
spoliat infernum
Place this Vol V
Num. VII. Vide Praef. §. 14.
Dirt out aronzt
MBurg. sculp.

ascertained by a label affixed to it in Gothic letters, *Jesus Christus, resurgens à mortuis spoliat infernum.* My predecessor indeed might have been misled by an uncouth abbreviation in the Sacred Name. The words *out, out, arongt,* are addressed to our Redeemer by Satan, who, the better to enforce them, accompanies them with a blast of the horn he holds in his right hand. *Tartareum intendit cornu.* If the instrument he grasps in his left hand was meant for a *prong*, it is of singular make.' Steevens then inserts an engraved *fac simile* of the instrument, and immediately says, that 'Satan is not *driving the damned before him;* nor is any other dæmon present to undertake that office. Redemption and not punishment, is the subject of the piece.—This subject of Christ's exploit, in his *descensus ad inferos,* (as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed in a note on Chaucer, 3512), is taken from the Gospel of Nicodemus, and was called by our ancestors the *harrowinge of helle,* under which title it was represented among the Chester Whitsun Playes, MS. Harl. 2013.'

So far Steevens has corrected Johnson, and substantially stated the subject of Hearne's print, but let the reader look at it and say whether Steevens himself is correct, when he affirms that Christ is addressed 'by *Satan.*' The devil that speaks is denoted, by the horn he blows, to be the *Porter* or warder of hell, an office of high trust, topographically the highest in hell, yet very inferior in rank, and consequently filled by a devil of low degree. Nor is Steevens's mistake a mere slip of the pen, for he again calls this spirit Satan, and says, there was no '*other* dæmon present.' In Heywood's 'Four P's,' the Pardoner relates that as soon as he found a female friend of his had gone to the infernal regions, he went after her to fetch her back:

> Not as who saith by authoritie
> But by the way of intreatie.
> And first to *the devil that kept the gate*
> I came,———
> He knew me wel———
> For oft, *in the play of Corpus Christi*
> *He hath play'd the devil at Coventrie.*
> * * * *
> I said to this devil, good *maister porte* ,&c.

The *Porter* introduces the Pardoner to Lucifer, who previously sends him a safe conduct under his hand, stating,

> —— that he may at libertie
> Passe safe without any jeopardie,
> Till that he be from us extinct,
> And cleerly out of helle's precinct.
> And, his pardons to keep in save guarde,
> Me wil they lie in *the* PORTER'S *warde*.[a]

Now in this old play both the *porter* of hell, and the *porter's* abiding place are mentioned; and it may be observed, that as in Hearne's print the devil in this employment blows a horn, so a very ancient Saxon MS. at the British Museum, wherein Christ is depicted releasing the souls, also represents him addressing a fiend, whose office of porter of hell is clearly shown by the eyes on his wings, emblematical of Cerberus-like watchfulness, and by his warder's horn, which with other implements he lets fall in terror from his hands.[b] Likewise the Golden Legend says, that 'Anone as Jhesu crist descended in to helle the nyght began to wexe clere. And anone the porter blacke and horrible amonge theym in scilence began to murmur.'[c] Probably the notion of this post, and the alarm of its occupiers on Christ's appearance to deliver the souls, is coeval with the earliest belief of the subject; for in the creed read in the fourth century at the council of Ariminum, a city of Italy, Christ is 'declared to have descended into hell, and there to have disposed of all things, *at whose sight the* PORTERS *of hell* TREMBLED.'[d]

Again: the *prong* in the devil's left hand of so '*singular* make' to Steevens's apprehension, that he engraves it in his note, is as frequently put into the hands of devils by the old masters, as the iron comb or any other implement of torture. This might be exemplified by reference to several engravings, but it is sufficient

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[a] Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. i. p. 112.

[b] Cotton MS. Tiberius VI.

[c] Golden Legend, Art. *Here begynneth the resurrecyyon.*

[d] Socrates' Eccl. Hist. fol. 1663, p. 278.

to refer to the volume of the great Show at Haerlem, wherein is a print representing *Doot, Hel,* and the *Duivel,* as walking in one of the processions, the *Duivel* holding a *prong* of exactly the same make.[a] Steevens's character for erudition in other respects has perhaps not only induced belief in the general reader that his engraving of it is a curiosity; but has occasioned his misconception to be reprinted in subsequent editions of Shakspeare to the present time.

It is remarkable that Steevens, while trifling and erring in detecting the inaccuracy of Johnson concerning the figures in the print, appears to have entertained no doubt as to the correctness of Johnson's statement that the word engraved aroynt, 'is evidently the same with *aroint;*' and it is further remarkable that every sub-

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[a] 'Const-thoonende Ivweel, by de loflijcke Stadt Haerlem, ten versoecke van Trou moet blijcken, in't licht gebracht, &c. Tot Zwol by Zacharias Heyns, Drucker des Landschapes van Over-ijssel, 1607,' 4to.

Devils are not only represented with instruments of torture by painters, but are sometimes so described by writers. *Querela,* a Latin poem, 'supposed to be written by S. Bernard from a nightly vision of his,' contains such a description. William Crashaw, an author mentioned before (p. 133.) who was father to Crashaw the poet, translated this poem under the title of '*The Complaint or Dialogue betwixt the Soule and the Bodie of a damned man; each laying the fault upon the other.*' (London, 1616, 24mo.) These are stanzas from it.

The author in vision.

After the Soule had sayd
these mournefull words,
Behold, two Fiends,
more blacke then pitch or night,
Whose shapes with pen
to write, no wit affordes,
Nor any hand of
painter pourtray right.

Sharpe steely prickes
they did in each hand beare,
Sulphure and fire
flaming, they breath'd out;
Tusked their teeth
like crooked mattockes were,
And from their nosthrils
snakes crawl'd round about.

Their eares with running
sores hung flapping low,
Foule filthy hornes in their
blacke browes they wore,
Full of thicke poyson
which from them did flow,
Their nayles were like
the tushes of a bore.

These Fiends in chaines
fast bound this wretched soule,
And with them hal'd her
howling into hell:
To whom on flockes
ran other diuels more,
And gnashing with their teeth
to dancing fell.

sequent editor of Shakspeare has also acquiesced in Johnson's opinion without taking pains to examine the ground he rests it upon. Had Steevens inquired what piece in 'Hearne's collection' this print really belonged to, he would have ascertained it to have been in Forduni Scotichronicon, (1722, 5 vols. 8vo.) before p. 1403 of vol. v., and following the direction on the plate to the Preface,

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Diuels.

They welcomed her with
greetings full of woe,
Some wrested her with cordes
senceless of dread,
Some snatcht and *tore with hooks*
drawne to and fro,
Some for her welcome
powr'd on scalding lead.

Svch horror wee do
on our seruants load,
Then as half wearied
the diuels cryed,
Now art thou worse
then was the crawling toade
Yet thousand-fold
worse torments thee abide.

The instrument held by the porter-fiend in Hearne's print is formed to use saw-ways, like '*hooks drawn to and fro.*'

A minute and horrifying account of hell torments, extracted from a modern publication, is in '*The Miraculous Host tortured by the Jew.*' But the binding of a sinner as an appendix to a devil is unique, I believe, as an infernal punishment. The representation is in a wood cut to a rare work entitled 'Der Schelmen zunft,' (1506, 4to.) and I end this note with a sketch from it by way of *tail-piece.*

§. 14 in vol. i., he would not only have met with the account of the print, but have also seen that Hearne himself gives the *real* word, from the drawing in his MS.

Hearne commences the subject by saying, that, of all the calendars in his possession, that which Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, presented to him, is deserving of the greatest admiration. He imagines it to be one of the magical and astrological ones mentioned by old writers; describes it to be full of pictures and prophecies; and supposes it was written in the reign of Edward III., and that it was the autograph or only copy. He is surprised that though it contains the names and portraits of all the saints held in great veneration throughout the whole year, yet that no mention occurs in it of St. Patrick. He inquires how this is, and conjectures that either St. Patrick was of no note with the English, or else that the author of this calendar, as well as others, considered the story of his purgatory a fiction. Then he notices some calendars that have it, probably, he says, out of compliment to the Irish; and he observes that, if it be urged that there was no occasion for the author of this calendar to say any thing of purgatory because he was not treating concerning hell, that can be proved to be erroneous, because he diligently depicts the fall of man and his liberation from the infernal regions; 'which diligence,' says Hearne, who evidently tattles thus to have an opportunity of giving engravings to his readers from drawings that the worthy old man was himself amused with; 'which diligence moreover, upon this subject, you will find to be sufficiently ridiculous from the pictures themselves, which I subjoin in the Appendix to the work; in the first of which you will read *Adam moritur et transit ad infernum pro uno pomo;* and in the second *Jhesus Christus resurgens à mortuis,* together with these words in our vernacular tongue, out, out, arougt, uttered by one of the dæmons already very much alarmed, and blowing a horn.'[a]

[a] Hearne's words in his preface are; 'Quam tamen in hâc re diligentiam ridiculam satis esse è picturis ipsis colliges, quas in Appendice operis subnectam: in quarum primâ legitur, *Adam moritur et transit ad infernum pro uno pomo;* in secundâ, *Jhesus Christus resurgens à mortuis spoliat infernum,* unâ cum hisce verbis

From this we see that the presumed '*arongt*,' is on Hearne's own testimony, '*arougt*.' Independent of this indubitable confirmation, there are other reasons for believing *arougt* to be the correct word, and consequently that the only authority for *arount* is the twofold mention of it by Shakspeare.

It is well known to every reader of old MSS. that from carelessness the copyists frequently formed n and u alike; and, in aronȝt, as it is spelled in Hearne's print, the letter before the ȝ[a] may have been so undeterminate in the MS. word, that Burghers, the engraver of the plate, being unacquainted with the orthography of the archaism, and preferring decision to correctness, wrote n when he should have written u, and thus converted the word arouȝt into aronȝt. Or, Burghers' transcript of n may really approach the original nearer than I have conjectured; for as Hearne's honest accuracy is not to be outrivalled, it cannot be supposed that he would allow an engraving from a drawing in the Fleetwood Calendar, which he so highly commends, to be very wide of exactness.[b] Though the inscriptions were secondary to his principal object, that of representing the scene, yet considerable faithfulness in the whole is to be presumed; and, if Burghers' engraving be a tolerably fair *fac-simile* of both, it must be obvious to every one who examines the print, that however rude in design the drawing appears, the MS. inscriptions upon it were quite as coarse. For, in that at the top of the plate, u and n are so similar that the letters they are intended for are rather to be inferred from their connexion with other letters, than to be perceived from their difference of form. For example; it would

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(linguâ nostrâ vernaculâ) ab unq Dæmonum, (jam admodum perturbatorum) cornu inflante, nut, nut, arougt pronunciatis.'—*Scotichronicon*, vol. i. Præf. p. l.

[a] ȝ is the Saxon *g*, and sometimes *gh*, in MSS.

[b] Ritson, sparing as he was of praise, yet, while fish-wifing Warton, could afford to say of Hearne, that 'few if any can boast of such a sacred regard to truth, and of such unimpeached integrity:—he has never been detected in a wilful falsehood; nor been ever charged with the slightest misrepresentation of the minutest fact.'—*Obs. on Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, p. 36.

be doubtful whether n in *resurgens* were not u; and u in *mortuis* is so like n in arougt, that it would actually be taken for n were *mortuis* a word of equivocal meaning. But in whatever way the error came upon the plate, Hearne has himself cured it by quoting the passage, in 'our vernacular tongue, out, out, arougt,' as the words of the print. To this may be added, that *arougt* rhymes to *out, out,* and is the last line of a distich,

Out, out,
Arougt.

Such a couplet it would be quite natural for a monkish writer in a rhyming age to conceive a happy thought, and to introduce on such an occasion. Taking then *arougt* to be the real word, I just observe, that in all the engravings that I have seen of the Descent wherein devils appear, they are represented to be roaring, or violently clamoring in great fear; and to assist the reader, I beg him to recollect that the terrified devil in the print, accompanies the distich, *out, out, arougt,* with a blast of his horn, as an alarm to the infernal host.

Arougt I have not been able to find in any dictionary within reach; but there is *arout,* to assemble together, in Urry's edition of Chaucer, where it stands thus:

> In all that land no Christin durst *arout*
> All Christin folk ben flemed fro that countre.[a]

Now if *arout* were really Chaucer's word, it would go nigh in my opinion to settle the question; but on looking further it appears that Chaucer's word is *route,* and that the letter *a* is prefixed by Urry, who put initial or final syllables to Chaucer's words for the purpose of assisting the measure where he supposed it deficient.[b] It reads in Tyrwhitt's, as well as in other editions,

> In all that lond no cristen dorsté *route.*—l. 4960.

For the present taking *arougt* as a summons *to assemble;* the

[a] Urry's Chaucer, p. 53. Man of Lawe's Tale, l. 941.
[b] Ibid. Thomas's *Preface.*

words that seem most likely to exemplify it are as follow:—Teutonic or old Dutch, *rot*, a crowd or band of men;[a] *rotten*, to congregate:[b] old German, *rotte*, turba vagabonda, a wandering crowd, also a party or faction:[c] old English, *route*, a company.[d] The statute 2 Rich. II. cap. 6. speaks of riding in great *routes* to make entry into lands.[e] *Rout* also signifies the meeting of a large social party invited by a lady; the assembly is called her *rout*.[f] But leaving this sense, I find in Saxon, *reotan*, or *wreotan*, crepitare, strepere, to clatter, or make a noise:[g] Scottish, *ruther*, a loud noise, a tumultuous cry, an uproar: Anglo-Saxon, *hruth*, commotion: Cambro-Britannic, *rhuthr*, impetus: *rhuthro*, cum impetu ferri: Irish, *ruathar*, pillage, and *hrid*, a combat: Scottish, *rutuor*, a spoiler, an oppressor: also *rout*, *rute*, a blow, a severe or weighty stroke.[h]

As in Hearne's engraving, the word projects beyond the ruled border, copied from the page of the calendar, is it not probable that the word *arougt* was a contraction of the amanuensis, to avoid an unseemly projection into the margin, which seldom or never occurs in MSS. beyond the extent to which *arougt* has exceeded its boundary line. Hearne would not have called the inscription 'words in our vernacular tongue,' if their spelling and pronunciation had not denoted their sense; if then, spelt as *arougt* is, and recollecting the confined space which had been transgressed, we discover no *one* word that can reasonably be imagined to be *arougt*, may it not be an abbreviation of *two* words? I imagine that a quotation from Spenser, in the Rev. Archdeacon Nares's glossary, is a clue to these words:—

Harrow now, *out*, and well away! he cryde.—*Faery Queen*, II. vi. 43.

Mr. Nares defines *harrow*, an exclamation of sorrow or alarm. The word *out*, a common exclamation of grief where we should now say *alas*, is also an interjection expressive of abhorrence and is used in that sense by Shakspeare: Queen Margaret says to

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[a] Kilian. Skinner. [b] Kilian. [c] Wachter. [d] Minsheu. [e] Ibid. [f] Jamieson. [g] Lye. [h] Jamieson.

Gloster, '*out* devil!'[a] Now omit the second word in Spenser's line, and we have *harrow out*, or *arougt*, a cry suitable to the porter of hell under his surprise and sudden terror. Jamieson, among other particulars respecting *harro*, says, that it is an outcry for help, and that it seems to be merely the French word *haro*, or *harou*, a cry used by the Normans, which when raised against a capital offender all were bound to pursue and seize him. The devil in the Newcastle play of Noah's Ark,[b] exclaims——

——— *Harro*, and wel away,
That ever I uprose this day.

Wel away, means *alas!* from palapa, Saxon, for *woe on woe*,[c] and is therefore with propriety coupled to *harro*. The word *haro* is often used by the devil as an interjection in the old French and English mysteries. There is a Lancashire word pronounced and spelt *areawt*, which signifies *get out*, or *away with thee*;[d] probably this provincialism is a reduction of the two words *haro, out*. But the orthography of English manuscripts in the age of Hearne's calendar was almost arbitrary. Its loose and undetermined character is sorely lamented by the preface writer to Bishop Bale's interlude of *God's Promises*: he says that 'the same words being so constantly spelled different ways, makes it very certain they had no fixed rule of right and wrong in spelling; provided the letters did but in any manner make out the sound of the word they would express, it was thought sufficient.'[e]

These hints are for consideration, and may be of assistance perhaps, to others, who with the same inclination, are happily better qualified to discover and explain the derivation and meaning of Hearne's word; it would ill become me to further agitate a point, that the learned alone can finally settle.

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[a] King Richard III. act 1. scene 3. [b] Brand's Newcastle, vol. ii. p. 375.
[c] Nares's Glossary. [d] Boucher's Supp. to Johnson, art. *aroint*.
[e] Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. i.

VII. ORIGIN OF MYSTERIES—FEAST OF FOOLS—FEAST OF THE ASS, &c.

'What does *civil* history acquaint us with, but the incorrigible rogueries of mankind; or, *ecclesiastical* history more than their follies?' *Warburton.*

A JEWISH Play, of which fragments are still preserved in Greek Iambics, is the first Drama known to have been written on a scripture subject.[a] It is taken from the Exodus, or the departure of the Israelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moses. The principal characters are 'Moses, Sapphora, and God from the Bush,' or God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. The author of the play is Ezekiel, a Jew, who is called the tragic poet of the Jews. Warton supposes that he wrote it after the destruction of Jerusalem, as a political spectacle to animate his dispersed brethren with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moses; and that it was composed in imitation of the Greek drama at the close of the second century.[b]

Rymer the antiquary relates, that in the first ages of Christianity any one concerned with the theatre was not allowed baptism. Cyril declares that when in *our baptism we say*, 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works and pomps,' *those pomps of the devil are stage plays and the like vanities.* Tertullian affirms that they who in baptism renounce the devil and his pomps, *can-*

[a] Translated into Latin by Fr. Morellus, Paris, 1580.

[b] Warton, vol. ii. p. 371.

not go to a stage play without turning apostates. Hence the Greek and Latin fathers had an ample field for their eloquence and declamation, before the Arians, the Gnostics, and other intestine heresies, sprang up to divert them. Cyprian, Basil, and Clement of Alexandria, are very warm upon the occasion; and so in many of his homilies is Chrysostom, who cries shame that people should listen to a comedian with the same ears that they hear an evangelical preacher. Augustine maintains that they who go to plays are as bad as those that write or act them. Tertullian in his warmth against the tragedians, observes, that *the devil sets them upon their high pantofles to give Christ the lie, who said, nobody can add one cubit to his stature.* Rymer adds, that these flashes and drops of heat, from single authors, had no such wonderful effect, for the tragedian still walked on in his high shoes. 'Yet might they well expect a more terrible storm from the reverend fathers when met in a body together, in council œcumenical. Then indeed began the ecclesiastical thunder to fly about, and presently the theatres, tragedy, comedy, bear-baiting, gladiators, and heretics, are given all to the devil without distinction. Nor was it sufficient for the zeal of those times to put down stage plays. All heathen learning fell under the like censure and condemnation. One might as well have told them of the antipodes as persuaded the reading of Tully's offices: they were afraid of the Greek philosophy like children of a bugbear, lest it fetch them away. A council of Carthage would not allow that a bishop should read any heathen book. How heartily St. Austin begs God pardon for having read Virgil with delight in his graver years! What a *plunge* was Jerome put to, by Ruffinus laying to his charge the reading of heathen authors.'[a]

[a] Rymer's short View of Tragedy, 8vo. 1693, p. 32, &c.

The *plunge*, which Rymer says Jerome was put to by Ruffinus, arose during a controversy between them, in which Ruffinus charged Jerome with having perjured himself by reading the classics, after he had entered into an engagement of the most solemn nature that he would not. The affair is rather curious.—It is told of one Natalis, who lived before Jerome's time, that having accepted of a bishopric among the heretics, he was severely scourged all night by

It was this blind zeal, Rymer says, that gave a pleasant prospect to the Emperor Julian, who opposed it by literally complying with it; for he made a law that no Christian should be taught in the heathen schools, or make use of that learning.[a] There were two men living at that time, who exerted their talents to supply the deficiency of instruction and entertainment that the Christians experienced from Julian's edict: these were Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea,[b] and his father, a priest of the same city; they

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angels, and the next morning repented and returned to the church. This probably occasioned a trance, into which, Jerome was thrown. The saint says, that he was arraigned before the tribunal of heaven, and being asked his profession, answered that he was a Christian: 'Thou liest,' said Christ, 'thou art a *Ciceronian*, for the works of that author possess thy heart;' whereupon he was condemned to be scourged by angels, and promised the judge not to read such wicked books again. The chastisement was so severely inflicted, that he declares, he never forgot it; yet, very unluckily, he some time afterwards went on quoting the classic writers as usual. Ruffinus twitted him with breaking his oath; and Jerome *plunged* from the charge, by answering, that he could not forget what he had read, but that he had not read the classics since. (*Butler's Lives of the Saints*, v. ix. p. 364.) Upon this, which is the affair alluded to by Rymer, an Italian 'Ciceronian' observes, that if Jerome was whipped for writing in the style and manner of Cicero, he suffered flagellation for what he did not deserve, and might have safely pleaded not guilty. (*Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist.* v. ii. p. 104.) This father, however his talents commanded admiration, was no great stickler for truth. He openly avowed that he disputed for victory, and that it was to be won at all hazards, and by any means. Ruffinus putting a home question to him that he was obliged to notice, the way in which he did it, was not by answering it, but by asking Ruffinus, in gross terms, why the lower part of the human body behind is not placed before. He was greatly the superior of Ruffinus, to whom he dealt such hard blows, that Daille pities him; yet Jerome whimsically read his adversary a long lecture against mutual railing, and bringing accusations against each other, as being more proper at the bar than in the church, and fitter to stuff a lawyer's bag than a churchman's papers. 'But the sport of it is,' says Daille, 'to see that after he hath handsomely belaboured and pricked this pitiful thing from head to foot, and sometimes till the blood followed, he at length protesteth that he had spared him for the love of God! and that he had not afforded words to his troubled breast, but had set a watch before his mouth according to the example of the Psalms!' (*Daille on the Right Use of the Fathers*, pt. ii. p. 98.) After all, Erasmus says that Jerome had better manners than Augustine.

[a] Rymer, p. 32. [b] He died in 382.

were both scholars well skilled in oratory and the rules of composition, and of high literary renown. Apollinarius, the elder, a profound philologer, translated the five books of Moses into heroic verse, and in the same measure composed the History of the Israelites to the time of Saul, into a poem of twenty-four books, in imitation of Homer. He also wrote religious odes, and turned particular histories and portions of the Old and New Testament into comedies and tragedies, after the manner of Menander, Euripides, and Pindar. His son the Bishop, an eloquent rhetorician, and already an antagonist of Julian's, anxious that the Christians might not be ignorant of any species of Greek composition, formed the writings of the Evangelists and the works of the Apostles into dialogues, in the manner of Plato.[a]

About the same time, Gregory Nazianzen, Patriarch and Archbishop of Constantinople, one of the fathers of the Church, and master to the celebrated Jerome, composed plays from the Old and New Testament, which he substituted for the plays of Sophocles and Euripides at Constantinople, where the old Greek stage had flourished until that time. If the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle,[b] so the sacred dramas of Gregory Nazianzen were formed on the same model, and the choruses were turned into Christian hymns. One only of the Archbishop's plays is

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[a] Shepherd on the Common Prayer, 1801, v. ii. p. 431, *note*. Socrates Eccles. Hist. 1668. Fol. p. 305. Socrates observes, that in consequence of the labours of the Apollinarii, Julian's law was abrogated, and the Christians resumed their studies in heathen learning, which he says the apostle Paul did not only not forbid, but is seen not to have despised himself: 'For where I pray you,' inquires Socrates, 'borrowed Paul this sentence? *The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies*, (Titus, i. 13.) was it not out of Epimenedes, a poet of Crete? Or where learned he this? *We are also his offspring*, (Acts, xvii. 28.) was it not out of the *Phænomena* of Aratus, the Astronomer? That saying also, *Evil communications corrupt good manners*, (1 Corinth. v. 33.) sheweth plainly that he was well seen in the Tragedies of Euripides.'—*Socrates Schol.* ibid. p. 306.

[b] 'All agree, that in the beginning it was purely a religious worship, and a solemn service for their holydays; afterwards it came from the temples to the theatre, admitted of a secular alloy, and grew to be some image of the world and human life. When it was brought to the utmost perfection by Sophocles,

extant: it is a tragedy called *Christ's passion*. The prologue calls it an imitation of Euripides, and, on the same authority, we learn that the Patriarch has the honour, in this piece, of introducing the Virgin Mary's first appearance on the stage. The play is preserved in Gregory Nazianzen's works.[a] The remainder

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the chorus continued a necessary part of the tragedy; but the music and dancing which came along with the chorus were mere religion, no part of the tragedy, nor had any thing of philosophy or instruction in them.'—*Rymer*, p. 19.

M. Ouvaroff (*Essay on the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 1817, 8vo.) is disposed to believe that the lesser Mysteries of the ancients comprehended symbolical representations of the history of Ceres and Proserpine, and Mr. Christie (in his '*Observations*' appended to M. Ouvaroff's *Essay*) accords to that opinion. He thinks it probable that the priests at Eleusis, who in later times contented themselves with shewing and explaining the machinery within the temple, were at first actors in a drama, and being persuaded that the paintings of the black and red Greek vases, originally deposited in tombs, were copied from transparent scenes in different mysteries, he introduces an engraving from a Sicilian vase, painted, as he conceives, to represent the four priests or agents in the Samothracian and Eleusinian shows. Dr. Darwin (*Botanic Garden*, note xxii.) assigns reasons for supposing that the reliefs on the Portland vase constitute portions of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which he also affirms, consisted of scenical exhibitions representing and inculcating the expectation of a future life after death; and he explains the marriage of Cupid and Psyche, as described by Apuleius, on the well-known beautiful gem, to be originally descriptive of another part of these exhibitions. Bishop Warburton's proof, (in his *Divine Legation of Moses*) that the sixth book of Virgil's Æneid represents some of these *Eleusinian* shows, is corroborated by Mr. Thomas Taylor (in a *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*.—Pamphleteer, No. xv. and xvi.) M. Ouvaroff quotes Cicero, (De Leg. ii. 14.) as affirming that Athens produced 'nothing more excellent than the Mysteries, which exalt us from a rude and savage state to true humanity: they initiate us into the true principles of life, for they teach us not only to live pleasantly, but to die with better hopes.' Whether Rymer, in the passage quoted above, alluded to these secret rites, or to certain public ceremonies of ancient polytheism, is not clear. Since his time, so much information has been communicated in our own tongue, that a mere English reader could easily draw up a curious memoir concerning the ancient customs that illustrate the origin of the drama.

[a] Opera Greg. Nazianz. tom. ii. p. 253. Warton, vol. ii. p. 368. Sandys's Christ Passion, 1687, 8vo. *Preface*.

Gregory 'all inflamed with the love of God and zeal of his glory, applied himself to the making of comedies and tragedies, and the writing of all such

of his dramas have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time.

It is not known whether the religious dramas of the Apollinarii perished so early as some of their other writings that were ordered to be destroyed for a crime common in all ages, heresy;[a] but this

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verse; which he performed with so much wit and elegance, and with such rare and admirable sentences, that the Christians found in his writings all they could desire in the heathen poets.'—*Ribadeneira's Lives*, vol. i. p. 333.

At this time acclamations and applauses were used in churches as well as theatres. Jerome desired Gregory Nazianzen to explain to him what was meant by *the second Sabbath after the first*, in Luke (c. vi. v. i.). Gregory answered, 'I will teach you that at church, where, *when all the people shall applaud me*, you will be *forced* to know what you do not know; for if you, *only*, keep silence, you will be looked upon as a fool.'—*Le Clerc's Lives*, 8vo. 1696. p. 289.

[a] Lardner's works, 4to, vol. ii. p. 463.

Heresy, in Greek, signifies *election*, or *choice*, and is used for any opinion which a man chooseth as best or most profitable. Heresy and heretic are often used by ancient writers as words of indifferent meaning; and the several ways of philosophizing were called *sects* or *heresies*. Johnson defines heresy, an opinion of private men different from that of the catholic and orthodox church.

Immediately after the Council of Nice, the Emperor Constantine issued a decree, ordering, that if there was any book extant written by Arius, that it should be burned to ashes, and the head of any man found hiding or concealing one should be stricken off from his shoulders. The church extended the spirit of this edict to other books, for as every dissenter from its establishment was declared a heretic, pains were taken to destroy his writings; and hence the character and opinions of these persons are only known to us through the works of their enemies, the fathers of the church, who in their turn disputed, quarrelled, and misrepresented each other.—(*Socrates Eccl. Hist.* folio, 1663, p. 221.) They had so great a horror of heretics, that they would not so much as preserve those of their writings that did *not* contain heresy; and which might even have been useful to the church. Upon which account it is that we have scarce any book of the ancient heretics existing. (*Du Pin's Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 215.) Epiphanius, a Greek bishop in the fourth century, was canonized as a saint for abusing fourscore classes of men under the name of heretics. (*Robinson's Eccles. Researches*, p. 54.) Although Eusebius, and other fathers, and even Irenæus from whom the rest borrowed, charged the ancient heretics with using witchcraft and enchantment; it has been questioned by the learned whether this was any more than a popular charge against men who studied mathematics, and particularly astronomy, for the ancient fathers perpetually confounded astronomy and astrology with magic. (*Lardner's Works*, 4to. vol. iv. p. 514.) It seems

is certain, that the learning they endeavoured to supply gradually disappeared before the progress of Constantine's establishment. Suddenly acquiring power, and finally assuming infallibility, observing pagan feasts as religious festivals, consecrating heathen

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that the Lutheran church has not been behind hand with the catholic. One of its doctors, in a commentary on heresy and schism, has inserted, catalogue-wise, no less than six hundred and thirty-two sorts of heretics, heresiarchs, and schismatics, diversified as the birds of heaven, and agreeing in only one single point—the crime of not continuing in what is called the church, (*Robinson's Eccles. Researches*, p. 125.) Heretic is a favourite term of reproach for difference of opinion. Dr. Daniel Williams, who bequeathed his valuable library to the dissenters, and the bulk of his property to public uses, was of spotless reputation, and the friend of the most enlightened men of his age; 'yet he was not only reckoned a heretic, but attempts were even made to injure his moral character,' (*Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* vol. xxxii. p. 105.) The church of England is a *heretic* to the catholic church, which has an office of supplication for our re-conversion, (from whence the following is extracted,) entitled,

THE LITANY *of Intercession* FOR ENGLAND.

✠

REMEMBER not, O Lord, our offences, nor those of our Parents; nor take Revenge of our Sins.

Lord have Mercy on us, &c.

O God the Father, Creator of the World, *Have Mercy on* England.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the World, *Have Mercy on* England.

O God the Holy Ghost, Perfecter of the Elect, *Have Mercy on* England.

O Sacred Trinity, three Persons and one God, *Have Mercy on* England.

Holy MARY, Mother of God, *Pray for* England.

Holy MARY, Queen of Angels, whose powerful intercession destroys all HERESIES, *Pray for* England.

ST. RAPHAEL, faithful guide of those that have LOST THEIR WAY, *Pray for* England.

All ye holy Apostles and Evangelists, chief Planters of the *Christian* Faith, and zealous MAINTAINERS OF CATHOLIC UNION, *Pray for* England.

All ye holy Bishops and Confessors, by whose wisdom and sanctity this Island was ONCE a flourishing seminary of Religion, *Pray for* England.

From presuming on their own private opinions, and contemning the Authority of THY CHURCH, *Deliver* England, O Lord.

We sinners, *Beseech thee to hear us.*

That it may please thee to hasten the CONVERSION of this OUR MISERABLE COUNTRY, and RE-UNITE IT TO THE ANCIENT FAITH and Communion of THY CHURCH; *We beseech thee to hear us.*

rites into christian solemnities, and transforming the non-observances of primitive simplicity into precedents for gorgeous ceremony, the church blazed with a scorching splendour that withered up the heart of man. Every accession to the dominion of its ecclesiastics over his property and intellect induced self-relaxation and sloth; to the boldness that seized a liberal supply for spiritual support succeeded the craft that extended it to a boundless revenue for effeminate indulgence. The miraculous powers of the church wonderfully multiplied; but implicit belief in miracles was equivocal, unless the act of faith was accompanied by liberal contributions at the altar. The purchase of pardons for sin, and the worship of the reliques exhibited in sumptuous shrines, were effectual ways of warring with the powers of darkness, and the coffers overflowed with contributions. These active hostilities against Satan occasioned him to ascend upon earth, and, to terrify the devout, he often appeared to them in the natural ugliness of his own proper person. When put to flight, by masses and holy water, he took lodgings *incog.* in the bodies of careless people, nor would he leave a tenement he occupied, till he was forcibly turned out of possession by a priest acquainted with the forms of ejectment. Dislike to clean linen was a peculiar mark of piety, and dirty hermits emitted the odour of sanctity. Though their holiness was so violently hated by the devil, that he took the trouble to assault and tempt them in the holes of the earth and trunks of old trees where they inhabited, yet it was rewarded with visits to their chosen abodes from all the orders of heaven; and by long familiarity with the powers of the other world, these 'tender-nosed saints could detect the presence of invisible angels.' They who turned their backs upon the concerns of life were especial favourites above. A nun reported that Christ opened her side with his corporal hands, took out her heart, and then carefully placing his own in the chasm, left it there and closed the wound, at the same time doing her the honour to wear her shift. Nor did the faithful who believed the former relation, doubt for an instant that the Virgin descended from heaven to visit

the cells of monasteries, and milk her breasts into the mouths of monks.[a] Doubts were effectually removed by burning doubters. All who were privileged to shave the top of the head in a circle, as a token of emancipation from worldly superfluities, were partners in the profitable trade of granting licences for unmolested existence at the price of unconditional submission. Ecclesiastical policy accomplished its purpose:—the human mind was in a deliquium; the hierarchy at the summit of its ascendancy.

From the complete establishment of the church until within a short time before the reformation, darkness overspread the world, and the great mass of the clergy themselves were in a state of deplorable ignorance.[b] During this period, in order to wean the people

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[a] The Miraculous Host, 1822, p. 30, &c.

[b] In 1458, Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. observed of the Italian priests, that it did not appear that they had ever so much as read the New Testament. (Hody de Bibl. Textibus, p. 464.) Robert Stephens, (who died in 1564,) tells us of the Doctors of the Sorbonne that being asked by him in what place of the New Testament such a thing was written, they answered, that they had read it in Jerome, or in the Decrees, but what the New Testament was they did not know.—*Lewis's Hist. of Transl. of Bible*, p. 53.

At an entertainment given at Rome to the Pope and Cardinals, by Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray, and papal legate for Scotland, he blundered so in his latinity when he said grace, that his holiness and their eminences lost their gravity; the disconcerted bishop testily concluded the blessing by giving 'all the false carles to the devil, *in nomine patris, filii, et sancti spiritus*;' to which the company, not understanding his Scoto-Latin, said *Amen*. Many of the Scottish clergy affirmed, that Martin Luther had lately composed a wicked book called the *New* Testament, but that they, for their part, would adhere to the *Old* Testament. A foreign monk, declaiming in the pulpit against Lutherans and Zuinglians, said to his audience: 'A new language was invented some time ago, called Greek, which has been the mother of all these heresies; a book is printed in this language, called the New Testament, which contains many dangerous things! another language is now forming, the Hebrew; whoever learns it, immediately becomes a Jew.' The commissioners of the senate of Lucern, confiscated the works of Aristotle, Plato, and some of the Greek poets, which they found in the library of a friend of Zuinglius, concluding that every book printed in *that* language must be infected with Lutheranism.—*Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 343.

from the ancient spectacles, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities, religious shows were instituted partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness. About the year 900, Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, caused the *Feast of Fools*, and the *Feast of the Ass*, with other religious farces of that sort, to be exhibited in the Greek church.[a]

In a synod of the rural deans of Switzerland, only three were found who had read the Bible; the others confessed that they were scarcely acquainted even with the New Testament.—*Hess's Life of Zuinglius, by Miss Aikin*, p. 23.

An ecclesiastic of eminence was asked what were the ten commandments; he replied there was no such book in the library. Martin Luther never saw a bible till after he was twenty-one years old, and had taken a degree in arts. Carlostadt had been a doctor of divinity twenty-eight years before he read the Scriptures, and yet when he stood for a degree in the university of Wittenberg, he obtained an honour, and it was entered in the university records that he was *sufficientissimus*. Pellican could not procure one Greek Testament in all Germany; the first he got was from Italy.—*Robinson's Eccl. Researches*, p. 538.

Erasmus lectured at Cambridge on the Greek grammar without an audience. He translated a dialogue of Lucian into Latin, and could not find a single student there capable of transcribing the Greek. He says, that when he published his Greek Testament in Greek, it met with great opposition. One of the colleges at the same university forbad it to be used, and inflicted a penalty on any one who had it in his possession; nor ceased its resistance, till Henry VIII. interfered by his injunction.

In the long night of papal gloom, both the Greeks and Latins enlightened their flocks by erasing the writings of ancient manuscripts, and writing ecclesiastical treatises upon them.—*Jortin's Rem. on Eccl. Hist.* v. iii. p. 25.

They industriously obliterated the words of scripture itself, and supplied the space it occupied upon the parchment by their cloisteral contemplations. In this way the Mœso-Gothic version of the thirteen epistles of St. Paul, was concealed under the Latin trumpery of a monastic writer. The barbarians of the church buried the writings of Cicero and Frontinus beneath their ravings; and to the unspeakable detriment of the republic of letters, such authors as Polybius, Dio, Diodorus Siculus, and some others who are quite lost, were metamorphosed into prayer-books and homilies.—*Rev. T. Horne's Introd. to a Critical Knowledge of Scripture*, edit. 1821, vol. ii. p. 96. Also *Lady Morgan's Italy*, vol. i. c. 5. *Monthly Mag.* (Indexes, name *Mai*,) and the *Classical Journal*.

[a] The fact is recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the following words: 'Theophylact introduced the practice which prevails even to this day, of scandalizing God and the

Beletus, who lived in 1182, mentions the *Feast of Fools*, as celebrated in some places on New-year's-day, in others on twelfth day, and in others the week following. In France, at different cathedral churches, there was a Bishop or an Archbishop of Fools elected; and in the churches immediately dependent upon the papal see, a Pope of Fools. These mock pontiffs had usually a

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memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought to offer to the divine grace with compunction of heart, for the salvation of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows, and placing over them one Euthyonius, surnamed Casnes, whom he also appointed the superintendent of his church, admitted into the sacred service diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels.' Two hundred years after this, Balsamon, patriarch of Alexandria, complains of the gross abominations committed by the priests at Christmas, and other festivals, even in the great church at Constantinople; and that the clergy on certain holidays personated a variety of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in military habits, and other enormous disguises. In return he forbids the professed players to appear on the stage in the habit of monks.—*Warton*, ii, 369.

In 1590, the monks and bishops made a memorable procession at Paris. Rose, the bishop of Senlis, and the prior of the charter-house, were in the van as captains; each of them had a cross in the left hand, and a halberd in the right, representing, as they said, the *Maccabees*, who were the leaders of God's people. After them all the monks of the mendicant orders, as Capuchins, Feuillans, Minims, &c. were drawn up four and four. Their robes were tucked up to their girdles, the cowl thrown back upon their shoulders, a helmet on their backs; some carrying shields and daggers, some partisans, and others carabines, and such like rusty arms, fit for nothing but to make one laugh. The oldest marched first, putting on, as well as they could, the airs and motions of commanding officers. The young followed, every now and then firing their pieces, to shew how well they understood the soldiers' exercise. Hamilton, the curate of St. Cosme, was serjeant, and kept them in their ranks. The merriest figure was one Feuillant, a little man, who because he was lame, would not keep in any rank, but was sometimes at the head, sometimes at the tail, with a great two handed sword, which he flourished about to hide the limp in his gait. This troop marched along the streets with an affected gravity, stopping from time to time, and mixing by intervals anthems and hymns, with the salvos of their fire-arms. Of this procession, representing the church militant, there is a print in Montfaucon.—*Mezerai* 9. (Conf. bet. Anc. and Mod. Ceremonies, p. 97.)

proper suite of ecclesiastics, and one of their ridiculous ceremonies was to shave the precentor of Fools upon a stage erected before the church in the presence of the populace, who were amused during the operation by his lewd and vulgar discourses accompanied by actions equally reprehensible. They were mostly attired in the ridiculous dresses of pantomime players and buffoons, and so habited entered the church, and performed the service accompanied by crowds of laity in masks, representing monsters, or with their faces smutted to excite fear or laughter, as occasion might require. Some of them personated females and practised wanton devices. During divine service they sung indecent songs in the choir, ate rich puddings on the corner of the altar, played at dice upon it by the side of the priest while he celebrated mass, incensed it with smoke from old burnt shoes, and ran leaping all over the church. The Bishop or Pope of Fools performed the service habited in pontifical garments, and gave his benediction; when it was concluded, he was seated in an open carriage, and drawn about to the different parts of the town followed by a large train of clergy and laymen, and a cart filled with filth, which they threw upon the populace assembled to see the procession. These licentious festivities were called the December Liberties.[a] They were

[a] The *Romans*, and many other nations made superstitious processions, and it is from them, no doubt, that the custom came to us. For in the pomp of our processions it is customary to rank in the first place something to make an appearance, as some files of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, or some burlesque ridiculous contrivance of a figure, with a great gaping mouth, and snapping its teeth to frighten folks. Some other pieces of merriment often precede, as a representation of the prophets; one acts *David*, another *Solomon*, and others are disguised like queens, and they cause children with wings to sing.—*Pal. Virg.* c. xi. p. 114. (Conf. bet. Anc. and Mod. Ceremonies, p. 89.)

The heathen were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those delights; and therefore Gregory (Thaumaturgus, who died in 265, and was bishop of Neocæsarea) to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the saints and martyrs. Hence it came to pass, that for exploding the festivals of the heathens, the principal festivals of the Christians succeeded in their room: as the keeping of Christmas with joy and feasting, and playing and sports, in the room of the *Bacchanalia* and *Saturnalia*; the celebrating of May-day with flowers, in the room of the *Floralia*; and the keeping of festival

always held at Christmas time, or near to it, but not confined to one particular day, and seem to have lasted through the chief part of January. When the ceremony took place upon St. Stephen's day, they said as part of the mass, a burlesque composition, called the Fool's prose, and upon the festival of St. John the Evangelist, they had another arrangement of ludicrous songs, called, the Prose of the Ox.[a]

The *Feast of the Ass*, as it was anciently celebrated in France, almost entirely consisted of dramatic show. It was instituted in honour of Balaam's Ass, and at one of them the clergy walked on Christmas day in procession, habited to represent the prophets

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to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and divers of the Apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrance of the sun into the signs of the zodiac, in the old Julian Calendar.—*Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel*, p. 204.

The feast of St. Peter ad vincula was instituted to supersede a splendid Pagan festival, celebrated every year on that day, to commemorate the victory of Augustus over Antony at Actium. We may infer the inevitable corruption of practical Christianity in the middle ages, from the obstinate attachment of the converted barbarians to their ancient Pagan customs, and the allowed continuance of many by the catholic clergy. Boniface complained of German priests, who would continue, although Christians, to sacrifice bulls and goats to the heathen idols.—*Mr. Turner's Hist. of Engl.* vol. ii. p. 340.

A letter from Pope Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, to the Abbot Mellitus, then going to Britain, desires him to tell Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, that after mature deliberation on the affair of the English he was of opinion that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed, but that the idols should. He further orders the temples to be sprinkled with holy water, and relics to be placed in them; and, because our ancestors sacrificed oxen in their pagan worship, he directs the object of the sacrifice to be exchanged, and permits them to build huts of the boughs of trees about the temples so transformed into churches, on the day of the dedication, or nativities of the martyrs whose relics they contain, and there to kill the cattle, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting.—*Bede's Eccl. Hist. of Engl.* 8vo. p. 94.

"Not long ago, in the metropolis itself, it was usual to bring up a fat buck to the altar of St. Paul's, with hunters horns blowing, &c. in the middle of divine service. For on this very spot, or near it, there formerly stood a temple of Diana."—*Conform. bet. Anc. and Mod. Ceremonies, Pref.* p. xx. n.

[a] Mr. Sharon Turner's Hist. of England, 4to. vol. ii. p. 367. Strutt's Sports, 303.

and others. Moses appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and rod. David had a green vestment. Balaam, with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass, which inclosed a speaker. There were also six Jews, and six Gentiles. Among other characters, the poet Virgil was introduced singing monkish rhymes, as a Gentile prophet, and a translator of the sybilline oracles. They thus moved in procession through the body of the church chanting versicles, and conversing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Christ, till they came into the choir.[a] The same ceremony, as it was performed at the same season, in the cathedral church of Rouen, commenced with a procession in which the clergy represented the prophets of the Old Testament who foretold the birth of Christ; then followed Balaam mounted on his ass, Zachariah, Elizabeth, John the Baptist, the sybil Erythrée, Simeon, Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the three children in the furnace. After the procession entered the cathedral, several groups of persons performed the part of Jews and Gentiles, to whom the choristers addressed speeches; afterwards they called on the prophets one by one, who came forward successively and delivered a passage relative to the Messiah. The other characters advanced to occupy their proper situations, and reply in certain verses to the demands of the choristers. They performed the miracle of the Furnace; Nebuchadnezzar spoke, the sybil appeared at the last, and then an anthem was sung, which concluded the ceremony.[b]

The *Feast of the Ass*, anciently celebrated at Beauvais every year on the 14th of January, commemorated the flight of the Virgin into Egypt with the infant Jesus. To represent the Virgin, the most beautiful girl in the city, with a pretty child in her arms, was placed on an ass richly caparisoned. Thus mounted she preceded the Bishop and his clergy, and they all went in grand procession from the cathedral to the parish church of St. Stephen. On entering the chancel, they ranged themselves on the right side

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[a] Warton, vol. i. p. 248.

[b] Diction. Univ. Hist. et Crit. des Mœurs, 1772, 8vo. Paris, tom. i. p. 50.

of the altar; the mass immediately commenced, and the *Introit, Lord have mercy upon us, Gloria Patri, the Creed,* and other parts of the service were terminated by the burden of *Hin-Han, Hin-Han*, in imitation of the braying of an ass: the officiating priest, instead of saying *Ita Missa est* at the end of the mass, concluded by singing three times *Hin-Han, Hin-Han, Hin-Han*, and during the performance hymns were sung in praise of the *Ass.*[a]

From the Missal composed for the service of the Feast of the Ass, by an archbishop of Sens, who died in 1222, M. Millin has given an account of the ceremony to the following effect. On the eve of the day appointed for the celebration before vespers, the

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[a] The *Ass* figures in Naogeorgus's description of the ceremonies on *Palm Sunday* in England: from the versification of Barnaby Googe's translation (in *Brand*, vol. i. p. 107.) the following particulars are extracted. On Palm Sunday, the anniversary festival of Christ's riding into Jerusalem, a wooden *ass*, with an image on it, being placed on a platform, with wheels, and drest up, was drawn by the people bearing boughs and branches of palm to the church-door. On its arrival there, the priest, blessing the branches, converted them into assurances for a year against loss or damage by tempest; and then, prostrating himself before the ass, he lay on his face till another priest roused him by the application of a rod of the largest size. On his rising, two others fell on their faces, and sang in that position; afterwards standing and pointing at the figure on the ass, they declared that it was he, who, having come to redeem the faithful, they had strewed olive boughs before as he rode. This ended, the ass with the figure being moved along, the people cast branches upon both, and it was drawn into the church in procession, the priests going before; the people followed, struggling for the holy boughs over which the pageant had past. The whole being concluded, the boys went to the church in the afternoon, and bargained with the sexton for the use of the *ass*, which they drew through the streets, singing verses and gathering money, bread and eggs, from the people.

'Upon Palme Sondaye they play the foles sadely, drawinge after them *an asse in a rope*, when they be not moche distant from the *woden asse* that they drawe.'—*Pref.* to *A Dialoge*, &c. n. d., a rare work mentioned in Ames.—*Brand*, vol. i. p. 107.

In the west of England there is a vulgar notion that the straight stripe down the shoulders of the ass, intersected by the long one from the neck to the tail, is a cross of honour conferred upon him by Christ, and that before he rode upon him the ass was not so distinguished.

clergy went in procession to the door of the cathedral, where two choristers sung in a minor key, or rather with squeaking voices—

Lux hodie, lux lætitiæ, me judice, tristis
Quisquis erit, removendus erit, solemnibus istis
Sicut hodie, procul invidiæ, procul omnia mœsta
Læta volunt, quicumque celibret asinaria festa.

Light to day, the light of joy—I banish every sorrow;
Wherever found, be it expelled from our solemnities to-morrow.
Away be strife and grief and care, from every anxious breast,
And all be joy and glee in those who keep the Ass's Feast.

The anthem being concluded, two canons were deputed to fetch the Ass to the table, where the great chanter sat, to read the order of the ceremonies, and the names of those who were to assist in them. The animal clad with precious priestly ornaments, was solemnly conducted to the middle of the choir, during which procession, a hymn in praise of the ass, was sung in a major key. Its first and last stanzas have been thus Englished:

From the country of the East
Came this strong and handsome beast,
This able Ass—beyond compare,
Heavy loads and packs to bear.
Huzza, Seignor Ass, Huzza!

Amen! bray, most honour'd Ass,
Sated now with grain and grass:
Amen repeat, Amen reply,
And disregard antiquity.
Huzza, Seignor Ass, Huzza!

The original hymn was in the following words:—

ORIENTIS partibus,
Adventavit Asinus,
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez,
Belle Bouche rechinez,
Vous aurez du foin assez,
Et de l'avoine a plantez.

Lentus erat pedibus,
Nisi foret baculus,
Et cum in clunibus,
Pungeret aculeus.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Ecce magnis auribus,
Subjugalis filius,
Asinus egregius
Asinorum Dominus.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Hic in collibus Sichem,
Jam nutritus sub rubem;
Transiit per Jordanem,
Saliit in Bethlehem.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Saltu vincit hinnulos
Damas et capreolos,
Super dromedarios,
Velox Madianeos.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Aurum de Arabiâ,
Thus et myrrham de Sabâ,
Tulit in Ecclesiâ,
Virtus Asinaria.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Dum trahit vehicula
Multâ cum carcimâ,
Illius mandibula
Durâ terit pabula.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Cum aristis hordeum,
Comedit et carduum;
Triticum à paleâ,
Segregat in aream.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

(Ici on fléchissait le genou.)

Amen, dicas, Asine,
Jam satur de gramine,
Amen, amen itera,
Aspernata vetera.

Hez va! hez va! hez va! hez!
Biaix, Sire Asne, car allez,
Belle Bouche, car chantez.[a]

The office being in the same style throughout, was sung in the most discordant manner possible. The service itself lasted the whole of the night, and part of the next day: it was a rhapsody of whatever was sung in the course of the year at the usual church festivals, and formed altogether the strangest and most ridiculous medley imaginable. When the choristers in this long performance were thirsty, wine was unsparingly distributed, and the signal for that part of the ceremony was an anthem, commencing 'Conductus ad poculum,' *Brought to the glass*. On the first evening, after vespers, the grand chanter of Sens, preceded by an enormous lantern, headed the jolly band in the streets, and on a vast theatre prepared for their reception before the church, they performed indecorous interludes. To conclude the singing and

[a] This hymn is in *Du Cange*, and the '*Dictionnaire des Mœurs*.'

dancing, a pail of water was thrown on the head of the grand chanter, and they returned to the church, to begin the morning office. On that occasion they were sluiced on their naked bodies with pailfuls of water. At the respective divisions of the service, the ass was supplied with drink and provender. In the middle of it, a signal was given by an anthem, beginning, 'Conductus ad ludos,' *Brought to play*, and the ass being conducted into the nave of the church, the people mixed with the clergy, danced round him, and strove to imitate his braying.[a] When the dancing was over, the ass was carried back into the choir, where the clergy concluded the service. The vespers on the second day were ended with an invitation to dinner, in the form of an anthem like the rest, 'Conductus ad prandium,' *Brought to dinner;* and the festival terminated by a repetition of similar theatricals to those which had taken place the day before.[b]

Francis Douce, Esq. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, submitted a paper to that body on the 10th of May, 1804, concerning these ceremonies; wherein he states, that the *Feast of Calends*, which arose out of the Roman Saturnalia, resembled, in a great degree, the excesses of a modern carnival, and that the archbishops and bishops degraded themselves by joining in these sports with the inferior clergy. An illumination in the celebrated Bedford Missal, representing several men feasting in a church-yard, is noticed by Mr. Douce, as referring to an ancient Festival on the 21st of February, called the *Feralia*, or Feast of the Dead, instituted by Numa in honour of the manes, and sometimes called *Parentalia*. This gentleman supposes that many of the grotesque figures in the illuminated religious manuscripts, generally, but erroneously, called missals, are allusive to these subjects. The *Feast of Fools*, he says, soon made its way into England, but its vest-

[a] Menestrier says, that Spain has preserved in the church and in solemn processions the use of dancing, and has theatrical representations made expressly for great festivals. He saw on Easter Sunday in some churches of France, the canons take the choristers by the hand, and dance in the choir while festal hymns were sung.—*Burney's Hist. of Music*, vol. ii. p. 28.

[b] Mr. Turner's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 567.

iges here are by no means so numerous as among our neighbours. The earliest mention of it traced by Mr. Douce, is under the reign of Henry IV., and he conceives it probable that it was abolished about the end of the fourteenth century. Numerous imitations of it arose in various places, and on different occasions. Besides the Feast of the Ass, there were the election of an abbé des *conards* or *cornards*, of an abbé des *esclaffards*, of an abbé de *malgouverne*, whence our abbot, or *lord of misrule*, of a prince des *sots*, sometimes called *mère folle*, or *folie*, of a prince de *plaisance*, a prince de *l'estrille*, of a prevôt des *etourdis*; a roi des *ribauds*, and some others of a similar nature. Mr. Douce describes a girdle, which tradition reports to have been worn by the abbot of fools, in the cathedral of Dijon, on his election into office. From the style of its sculpture, he conceives it to belong to the fourteenth century. It consists of thirty-five square pieces of wood so contrived as to let into each other, by which means it easily assumes a circular form. On these are carved a variety of ludicrous and grotesque figures, consisting of fools, tumblers, huntsmen, and animals, with others that, from their licentiousness, do not admit of a particular description. They bear, on the whole, a very striking similitude to the sculptures on the seats of the stalls in our cathedrals and monastic buildings, which, Mr. Douce is of opinion, were likewise executed in ridicule of the clergy in general, but more particularly of the friars, or, that they may, in some instances at least, refer to the mockeries that were practised in celebrating the Feast of Fools.[a]

The *Boy Bishop* was another pastime of the church. In Franconia, the scholars on St. Nicholas day used to elect one of their number to play the Boy Bishop, and two others for his deacons. He was escorted to church, with his mitre on, by the other boys in solemn procession, where he presided at the worship, and afterwards he and his deacons went about singing from door to door and collecting money; not begging alms, but demanding it as his subsidy. This was a very ancient practice, for, three centuries

[a] *Archæologia*, vol. xv. p. 225.

before, namely, in 1274, the Council of Strasburg prohibited the choosing of the *Boy Bishop;* though so late as Hospinian, who wrote in the seventeenth century, it was customary at schools dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great, who was also patron of scholars, for one of the boys to be the representative of Gregory on the occasion, and act as Bishop, with certain companions as his clergy.[a] But as the Boy Bishop in England will be mentioned hereafter, further notice is deferred until then.

These were the principal mock festivals of the clergy, yet so late as in 1645, a pupil of Gassendi, writing to his master what he himself witnessed at Aix, on the feast of the Innocents, says, 'I have seen, in some monasteries in this province, extravagancies solemnized, which the Pagans would not have practised. Neither the clergy nor the guardians, indeed, go to the choir on this day, but all is given up to the lay-brethren; the cabbage-cutters, the errand-boys, the cooks and scullions, the gardeners; in a word, all the menials fill their places in the church, and insist that they perform the offices proper for the day. They dress themselves with all the sacerdotal ornaments, but torn to rags, or wear them inside out; they hold in their hands the books reversed or sideways, which they pretend to read with large spectacles without glasses, and to which they fix the shells of scooped oranges, which renders them so hideous, that one must have seen these madmen to form a notion of their appearance; particularly while dangling the censers, they keep shaking them in derision, and letting the ashes fly about their heads and faces, one against the other. In this equipage they neither sing hymns, nor psalms, nor masses; but mumble a certain gibberish as shrill and squeaking as a herd of pigs whipped on to market. The nonsense-verses they chaunt are singularly barbarous:

> Hæc est clara dies, clararum clara dierum,
> Hæc est festa dies, festarum festa dierum.[b]

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[a] Brand, vol. i. p. 324.

[b] Thiers, Traité des Jeux, p. 449; see D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, vol. iii. p. 259.

To these sports the clergy added the acting of *Mysteries*, or plays representing the miraculous acts of saints, circumstances from apocryphal story, and subjects from the Old and New Testament. There are different opinions as to the religious class by whom they were introduced into Europe, though it seems reasonable to suppose that they were adopted by the Italians in the depth of the dark ages from the spiritual dramas of the Apollinarii, father and son, and Gregory Nazianzen;[a] but however that

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[a] Warton, vol. ii. p. 369. Gregory Nazianzen, is said by Cardinal John de Medicis, to have corrupted the purity of the Greek tongue, and by that means to have occasioned the barbarisms of Latin divinity. On the authority of Demetrius Chalcondylas, who flourished in the fifteenth century, he relates that the Greek clergy obtained leave from the Constantinopolitan emperor, to burn many ancient Greek poems, and that so the plays of Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon and Alexis, and the verses of Sappho, Erinna, Anacreon, Mimnermus, Bion, Alcman, and Alcæus, were lost. Their place being supplied by the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, which though exciting to greater religious zeal, yet do not teach the true propriety and elegance of the Greek language.—*Bayle. Dict. art.* Nazianzen.

Menestrier ascribes the Mysteries to the practices of the religious. He says, 'It is certain, that pilgrimages introduced these devout representations. Those, who returned from Jerusalem and the Holy Land, from St. James of Compostella, St. Baume of Provence, St. Reine, Mount St. Michael, Notre Dame du Puy, and other places of piety, composed songs on their travels, mixing with them a recital of the life and death of the Son of God, or of the last judgment, after a gross manner, but which the singing and simplicity of the times seem to render pathetic: they sung the miracles of saints, their martyrdom, and certain fables, to which the credulity of the people gave the name of visions and apparitions. These pilgrims, who went in companies, and who took their stands in streets, and public places, where they sung with their staves in their hands, and their hats and mantles covered with shells, and painted images of divers colours, formed a kind of spectacle, which pleased, and excited the piety of some citizens of Paris, to raise a fund for purchasing a proper place to erect a theatre, on which to represent these mysteries on holy days, as well for the instruction of the people, as their diversion. Italy had public theatres for the representation of these mysteries; one of them I saw at Veletri, in the road from Rome to Naples, in a public place, where it is not forty years since they left off to represent the mysteries of the life of the Son of God. These pious spectacles appeared so fine in those ignorant ages, that they made them the principal ornaments of the reception of princes, when they made their entry into cities; and as they sung a *Christmas carol*, instead of the

may be, there is no room for surprise that all writers concur in attributing the performance of these mysteries to that body who were the authors of the Feast of Fools and the Feast of the Ass.

As mysteries arose with Gregory Nazianzen, it is not likely that his example as a father of the church should be wholly lost sight of as soon as he had succeeded in destroying the performance of the ancient Greek plays; yet English writers do not appear to have traced sacred representations in a dramatic form until many centuries after Gregory Nazianzen's death. No inference, however, is deducible from that circumstance against the likelihood of their existence nearer to his time. Dramatic historians seldom dig into ecclesiastical lore for materials, and the learned few have not much relish for inquiries subordinate to their own.

Dr. Burney, in his researches into the history of music, ascertained that the first dramatic representation in Italy was a spiritual comedy, performed at Padua in 1243. In 1554, were printed at Rome, the statutes of a *Company* instituted in that city in 1264, whose chief employment was to represent the sufferings of Christ in passion week.

In 1298, the passion was played at Friuli; and the same year, the clergy of Civita Vecchia, on the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays, performed the play of Christ, that is of his passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mission of the Holy Ghost; and again in 1304, they acted the creation of Adam and Eve, the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the birth of Christ, and other subjects of sacred history.[a] The Rev. Mr. Croft, and the Hon. Topham Beauclerc,

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cries of *Long live the King*, they represented in the streets the *good Samaritan*, the *wicked rich man*, the *Passion of Jesus Christ*, and several other *Mysteries*, at the reception of our kings. The psalms and prose devotions of the church were the opera of those times. They walked in procession before those princes with the banners of the churches, and sung to their praise hymns composed of several passages of Scripture, tacked together, to make allusions to the principal actions of their reigns.—*Menestrier.*'—(*Bayle. Dict.* art. Chocquet.)

[a] Warton, vol. i. p. 250.

collected a great number of Italian mysteries; and at the sale of their libraries, Dr. Burney purchased many of the most ancient, which he speaks of as being evidently much earlier than the discovery of printing, from the gross manner in which the subjects are treated, the coarseness of the dialogue, and the ridiculous situation into which the most sacred persons and things are thrown.[a]

In 1313, Philip the Fair gave the most sumptuous entertainment at Paris ever remembered in that city. Edward II. and his Queen Isabella, crossed over from England with a large retinue of nobility, and partook of the magnificent festivities. The pomp and profusion of the banquettings, the variety of the amusements, and the splendour of the costume were unsurpassed. On each of the eight days the princes and nobles changed their dresses three times; while the people were sometimes entertained with representations of the *Glory of the blessed,* at other times with the *Torments of the damned,* and with various other spectacles, especially the *Procession of Reynard the Fox.*[b] In 1402, by an edict of Charles VI. dated Dec. 4th, the mystery of the conception, passion, and resurrection of Christ, was performed at St. Maur, about five miles from Paris. It was written by Jean Michel, who died in 1447. At the Council of Constance, in the year 1417, the English fathers gave a mystery of the massacre of the Holy Innocents. In this play a low buffoon was introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to go on the adventure of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem, which was treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attacked the knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, broke his head with their distaffs, abused him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and sent him home to Herod as a recreant champion, with much ignominy.[c] *Le Mistere de la Passion de Notre Seigneur,* done to the life, as the same is figured round the *cœur* of Notre Dame, at Paris, was performed on the entrance of the kings of France and

[a] Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. iii. p. 83.

[b] Histoire de Paris, fol. p. 523.

[c] Warton, i. 242.

England into that capital, on December 1, 1420, in the street *Kalende*, before the palace, upon a raised scaffolding about one hundred paces in length, reaching from the said street *Kalende* to the wall of the palace.[a] *Le Mistere de la Passion de Saint George*, was represented by the Parisians in the Hotel de Nelle, during the festival of the Pentecost, being the last day of May, in order to shew their love to the King of England, his queen, and all the nobles of the said country. On the 8th of September, 1424, *Le Mistere du vieil Testament et du noivel*, was performed by the youths of Paris, placed like statues against a wall, without speech or sign, at the entrance into Paris, of John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. *Le Mistere depuis la conception Notre Dame jusque Joseph la mena en Egipte;* was performed on a scaffolding before the Trinity, reaching from beyond St. Saviours' to the end of the street called *Ernetal*. This was at the entrance of Henry VI. of England into Paris as king of France, on the first Sunday of Advent, being December the 2nd, 1431. *Vengeance de la Mort de N. S. J. C. et destruction de la ville de Jerusalem par l'Empereur Vespasian et Titus* was performed, presented before Charles VIII.[b] In 1486, the mysteries of the nativity, passion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, were acted at Poictiers, with great magnificence.[c]

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[a] Printed in 4to.

[b] The printed copies of this and the three preceding mysteries specify the time of their representation.

[c] Black letter, folio, 1491. Bayle Dict. art. *Bouchet*.

There are two French Mysteries, entitled, 1. *Le Jeu et Mystere de la Sainte Hostie*, mis par personnaiges, en rime Françoise. Paris, *Jehan Bouſons*, black letter, 16mo. 2nd. *Le Mystere de la Sainte Hostie*, black letter, 12mo. played by twenty-six persons. After the title page are these four lines,

Li sez ce fait, grand et petit,
Comment un faux et maudit Juif,
Lapida moult cruellement
De l'Autel le tres Saint Sacrement.

It appears that in almost every nation in Europe the silly Jews have perpetrated cruelties on feeling wafers and conscious crucifixes. In the present

In the Royal Library of Paris, No. 4330, is *Le Mystere de la passion Jesus Christ*; Paris, printed by Antoine Verard, 1490, folio. This is a fine copy on vellum with every page richly illuminated, and containing a MS. note in French, purporting to be an extract from an old Chronicle, entitled, 'Histoire de Metz veritable,' whence it appears that its performance was attended by many foreign lords and ladies whose names are specified, and that there were lanthorns placed in the windows during the whole time of the plays: but the most curious part of the MS. note is, that, 'in the year 1437, on the 3rd of July was represented the game or play, *de la Passion, N. S.* in the plain of Veximiel,

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year, 1822, I compiled an account of the *Miraculous Host tortured by the Jew at Paris*, under the reign of Philip the Fair in 1290. In the preface to that pamphlet it is affirmed that the people of Brussels every year, on the anniversary of St. Hubert the patron of dogs, get bread, with attestations signed by the magistrates, certifying that it has been consecrated by the priest, and that they give every dog in Brussels this holy bread, to save him from distemper throughout the year: As this is the only opportunity I shall have of removing some doubts as to the accuracy of my statement, I subjoin the copy of an original certificate attached to the bread consecrated and sold for the dogs last year. The original is in my possession: the practice itself can be verified by any resident at Brussels.

(COPY.)

JE SOUS SIGNE, déclare avoir beni et touché à l'Etole miraculeuse du glorieuse SAINT HUBERT, Apôtre des Ardennes, les bagues, chapelets, médailles, croix, cœurs, christs, colliers, boucles d'orielles, petits livres, petits cornets de dévotion, et autres beatilles relatives à la pieuse confiance des fidèles à le grand Saint, dont est porteuse MARIE JOSEPH POTTER, épouse de CORNELIS JOSEPH, Maréchal, domiciliée à Bruxelles.

Votum facio R'dis Confratribus has visuris hæc Numismata verè benedicta et miraculosæ Stolæ contactu Lustrata ut supra, etc.

Delivré à St. Hubert, le 28 Janvier, 1821.

L. S. V. THOME Aumonier de l'Eglise du grand St. Hubert.

Vu, par e Bourguemestre Président de la Régence de la Ville de Saint Hubert, pour Légalisation de la Signature de Monsieur Thome, sis dessus Vicaire et Aumonier de l'Eglise du GRAND SAINT HUBERT.

L. S. Saint Hubert, le 28 Janvier, 1821.

N. EVITMET.

when the park was arranged in a very noble manner, for there were nine ranges of seats in height rising by degrees; all around and behind were great and long seats for the lords and ladies. To represent God was the Lord Nicolle, Lord of Neufchatel, in Lorraine, who was curate of St. Victor of Metz; he was nigh dead upon the cross if he had not been assisted, and it was determined that another priest should be placed on the cross to counterfeit the personage of the crucifixion for that day; but on the following day the said curate of St. Victor counterfeited the resurrection, and performed his part very highly during the play. Another priest, who was called Messire Jean de Nicey, and was chaplain of Metrange, played Judas, and was nearly dead while hanging, for his heart failed him, wherefore he was very quickly unhung and carried off: and there *the Mouth of Hell* was very well done; for it opened and shut when the devils required to enter and come out, and had two large eyes of steel.[a] It further appears from the MS. note that they played on the 17th of September of the same year in the same place, *La Vengeance de N. S. J. C.*' and that 'the same Lord Nicolle was Titus in *la Vengeance*,' who nearly lost his life in *la Passion*.

On the 27th of May, 1509, was performed at Romans, in Dauphiny, before the Cordeliers' church, the *Mystery of the*

[a] This *Mouth* of *Hell* is figured in Hearne's print opposite p. 138 of the present work. Hell is often shown in this way at the present time. It is so designed in a wood cut to the Christmas carol of 'Dives and Lazarus.' A sick man in a wig lies on a bed, with a clergyman praying beside him; the indisposed person is Dives, for whom the *Mouth of Hell* is wide open in a lower corner of the room, while Lazarus reposes in Abraham's bosom in the corner above. As it is by no means an uncommon form, so it appears to have been conceived in an early age. The fine east window of York Cathedral, on which is painted almost the whole history of the Bible, contains the final doom of the wicked; and *hell* is this enormous mouth. There is also a representation of hell as a monstrous mouth vomiting forth flames and serpents, with two figures walking into it, trampling over the naked body of a third lying prostrate, on an ancient bas relief in the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, which was founded in 1088. Gough conjectures the workmanship to be more ancient than the cathedral, and thinks it was 'brought from some old church and placed in this front when it was first built.' It is engraved in his *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 368.

Three Dons. In this religious play, which lasted three days, there are emissaries who undertake very long journeys, and must come back before the play can be ended. The scene, besmeared with the blood of the three martyrs, the Dons, is sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Vienna, soon after at Lyons, and at other times in the Alps. The stage constantly represents hell and paradise; and Europe, Asia, and Africa, are cantoned in three towers. Some metaphysical beings are most curiously personified. Dame Silence, for instance, speaks the prologue; Human Succour, Divine Grace, and Divine Comfort, are the supporters of the heroes and heroines of the piece, while Hell exhibits monsters and devils, to frighten the audience. They are constantly abusing Proserpine, who is introduced with all the trappings of Tartarean pomp into this performance, where there are no less than ninety-two dramatis personæ, among whom are the Virgin and God the Father.[a]

The story of *Le Mystere du Chevalier qui donne sa Femme au Diable*, played by ten persons in 1505,[b] is of a dissipated knight reduced by his profligacy to distress and wickedness. In his misfortunes the devil appears and proposes to make him richer than ever if he will assign his wife that the devil may have her in seven years. After some discussion the knight consents, his promise is written out, and he signs it with his blood. The seducer then stipulates that his victim shall deny his God; the knight stoutly resists for a time, but in the end the devil gains his point, and emboldened by success ventures to propose that the knight shall deny the Virgin Mary. This, however, being a still greater sin, he refuses to commit it with the utmost indignity and vehemence, and the devil walks off baffled. At the end of seven years, the promise being due, the devil presents it to the knight, who, considering it a debt of honour, prepares to discharge it immediately. He orders his wife to follow him to a certain spot, but on their way she perceives a church, which after obtaining

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[a] *General Evening Post*, Sept. 29, 1787, from a MS. at Romans.

[b] Black letter, 12mo.

her husband's permission she enters, for the purpose of offering her devotion; while thus engaged the Virgin Mary, recollecting the knight's unsullied allegiance to her, assumes the semblance of his wife, and in that character joins him. The moment that they both appear before the devil he perceives who he has to deal with, and upbraids the unconscious knight for attempting to deceive him. The knight protests his ignorance and astonishment, which the Virgin corroborates by telling the devil that it was her own plan for the rescue of two souls from his power, and she orders him to give up the knight's promise. He of course obeys so high an authority, and runs off in great terror. The Virgin exhorts the knight to better conduct in future, restores his wife to him, and the piece concludes.

In the reign of Francis I., 1541, the performance of a grand Mystery of the *Acts of the Apostles*, was proclaimed with great solemnity, and acted at Paris for many successive days before the nobility, clergy, and a large assemblage in the Hotel de Flandres. These plays written in French rhime by the Brothers Greban, were printed in 2 vols. folio, black letter, under letters patent of the king to William Alabat, a merchant of Bourges. The dramatis personæ were, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Virgin and Joseph, Archangels, Angels, the apostles and disciples, Jewish priests, Emperors, Philosophers, Magicians, Lucifer, Satan, Belzebub, Belial the attorney-general of hell, Cerberus the porter, and a multitude of other celestial, terrestrial, and infernal personages, amounting altogether to four hundred and eighty-five characters. Though the scenes of these plays were chiefly scriptural, yet many were from Apocryphal New Testament subjects, and the whole exhibition was a strange mixture of sacred and profane history. A scene in which the spirit of God descends in a cloud upon the Apostles as tongues of fire, directs that, 'here a noise should be made to imitate thunder resounding through paradise.' In the Play of *Pentecost*, Mary being assembled with the eleven apostles and the disciples, altogether one hundred and eleven persons, the deficiency in the number of the apostles through the treachery of Judas, is supplied by Peter

holding two straws, unequally cut between his finger and thumb, from which one being drawn, the lot fell upon Mathias. This and other scenes which are to be found elsewhere,[a] may convey some idea of the absurdity and grossness exhibited under the government of Francis I.; yet these plays are enlivened by boldness of incident, and occasionally there is an unexpected tenderness and delicacy of expression. In the Assumption of the Virgin, she is thus addressed by one of the celestial messengers sent to convey her to heaven—

Michael. Venez liz et rose deslite,
Tres precieuse Marguerite,
Clere resplendissant et belle,
Venez en la vie eternelle,
Ou Jesus votre fils habite.

Mary requests that before they take her soul, her body may be laid asleep; she gently reclines herself and dies; and virgins enter, and wrapping the body in a sheet, carry her away. Gabriel receives her soul, and while he holds it gives directions for the funeral. At his desire an anthem of joy is sung for the blessed Assumption, and a female then comes in and says, they have stripped the body to wash it as in charity bound to do, but such is the splendor thereof, and the brilliancy issuing from her limbs, that it is not possible human eyes can sustain it. Here they all ascend into paradise, and carry the soul of the Virgin with them.

Bayle calls the *Mystere des Actes Apostres*, itself 'a very rare and uncommon work.' He obtained the loan of a copy from Sir Hans Sloane in England, and largely describes the volume. It is, however, more curious than rare. From the public instruments prefixed to the work, and the circumstances related by Bayle, it is evident that there was much importance attached to these plays; but it cannot so well be conceived from perusing them, as from the remarkable ceremonial of the public procla-

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[a] Bayle gives long extracts that will surprise most readers, yet he justly observes, that 'they are not so grotesque as a multitude of other passages.'—*Bayle's Dict. art.* Chocquet.

mation for their performance, concerning which he says nothing. Probably from the extreme rarity of the curious descriptive tract, published at the time, Bayle had not seen it. On account of its scarcity I subjoin a translation of it entire: the words of the proclamation itself are retained in the original French.

(TRANSLATION.)

PUBLIC NOTICE AND PROCLAMATION, *for playing the* MYSTERY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, *in the Town of Paris, made Thursday the 16th day of December, in the year* 1540, *by command of our Lord the King,* FRANCIS THE FIRST *of this name, and his Worship the Provost of Paris. To the end that every one may come to take their characters in the performance of the said Mystery.* SOLD AT PARIS *in the Street Neufue Nostre Dame, at the Sign of St. John the Baptist, near St. Geneviefve des Ardens: in the Shop of Denys Janoe,* 1541.

On the aforesaid day, about eight o'clock in the morning, the people assembled in the Hotel de Flandres, the usual place for the performance of the said mystery. That is to say, as well the managers of the said mystery, as officers of justice, plebeians, and others having the regulation of these; rhetoricians, and gentlemen of the long robe, as well as of the short.

First of all went six trumpeters having banners to their pipes and bugles bearing the royal arms, amongst which, as for safety, was the usual herald of the city accompanied by the sworn crier established to proclaim all judicial proclamations in the said city, all being suitably mounted.

After these marched a number of serjeants and archers of the mayor of Paris, habited in their hocketons diapered with silver, wearing the liveries of the king and the said mayor. These were to keep order, and to prevent the people pressing in; the archers were as usual well mounted, as in such cases is required.

Then afterwards marched a number of the city officers and serjeants, as well of the merchants as of the better sort of citizens, habited in their robes—then a party with the colours of the city, *qui sont les navires d argẽt triceulx*, all well habited.

Then followed two men appointed to make the said proclamation, dressed in black silk velvet with hanging sleeves of three colours, namely, yellow, grey, and blue, which is the livery of the aforesaid managers, and these were well mounted on fine horses.

Afterwards came the two directors of the said mystery, rhetoricians, one an ecclesiastic, the other a layman, both soberly clad and well mounted according to their station.

Then followed after, the four managers of the said mystery, (*Hamelin, Potrain, Louvet, Chollet,*) habited in rich laced sarcenets stitched on black velvet, well mounted on horses richly caparisoned.

Also after this train marched four commissaries, inspectors of the Chatelet at Paris, mounted on mules with housings, as followers of the said managers.

In the same order marched a great number of the citizens, merchants and other gentlemen of the city, as well in long as short robes, very well mounted according to their state and circumstances.

It should be noticed that at every cross way or public place where they made the said proclamation, two of the said managers always joined with the two appointed to make the proclamation; and, after the said six trumpeters had sounded three times, and the exhortation of the city herald made on the part of the king and the mayor of Paris, the four persons aforesaid made the proclamation in the manner and form as follows: viz.

The Announcing and Proclaiming of the undertaking of the said Mystery of the Acts of the Apostles, addressed to the Citizens of the said city of Paris.

Pour ne tumber en da'nable decours
En nos jours cours aux bibliens discours
Avons recours—le temps nous admoneste
Pendant que Paix: estant notre secours
Nous dict je cours es Royaulmes es cours
En plaisant cours faisons quelle sarreste
La saison preste a souvent chaulve teste
Et pour ce honneste œuvre de catholicques
On faict scavoir a son et crys publicques
Que dans Paris ung mistere sappreste
Representant Actes Apostolicques.

Nostre bon Roy que Dieu garde puissant
Bien le consent au faict impartissant
Pouvoir recent: de son auctorité
Dont chascun doibt vouloir que florissant
Son noble sang des fleurs de Lys yssant
Soit et croissant en sa felicite
Venez, cite, Ville, Université,
Tout est cité venez gens heroycques
Graves, censeurs, magistraz, politicques
Exercez vous au jeu de verité
Representant Actes Apostolicques.

L'on y semond, Poetes, Orateurs
Vrays precepteurs, d'eloquence Amateurs
Pour directeurs de si saincte entreprise
Mercuions, et aussi chroniqueurs
Riches rimeurs des barbares vaincqueurs
Et des erreurs de langue mal apprise
L'heure est precise: on se tiendra l'assise
La sera prise au rapport des tragicques
L election des plus expers seniçques

En geste et voix au teatre requise
Representant Actes Apostolicques.

Vouloir n'avons en ce commencement
Des batement fors prendre enseignement
Et jugement sur chascun personnage
Par les roolletz bailles entierement
Et veoir comment lon jouera proprement
Si fault coment: ou teste d'avantage
Mys ce partage à vostre conseil saige
Doibt tout courage hors les cueurs paganicques
Lutheriens, espritz diabolicques
Auctoriser ce Mistere et ymage
Representant Actes Apostolicques.

Prince puissant sans toy toute rencontre
Est mal encontre et nostre œuvre imparfaict
Nous le prions que par grace se monstre
Puis le meffaict de nos chemins oblicques
Pardonnes nous apres ce jeu parfaict
Representant Actes Apostolicques.

End of the Proclamation.

And for the fixing the day, and the usual place for taking characters in the said Mystery, was signified to all, that all should be on the feast of St. Stephen, the first holiday in Christmas following, in the hall of the Passion, the accustomed place for rehearsals and repetitions of the Mysteries played in the said city of Paris; which place, being well hung with rich tapestry chairs and forms, is for the reception of all persons of honest and virtuous report, and of all qualities therein assisting, as well as a great number of citizens and merchants and other persons, as well clergy as laity, in the presence of the commissaries and officers of Justice appointed and deputed to hear the speeches of each personage; and these are to make report, according to the merit of their well doing, as in such case required, concerning which have a gracious reception; and from day to day, every day, so to continue to do, until the perfection of the said Mystery.[a]

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[a] The French title of this tract is, 'Le cry et proclamation publicque: pour jouer le mistere des Actes des Apostres, en la ville de Paris: faict le Jeudy seiziesme jour de Decembre l'an mil cinq. cens. quarante: Par le commandement du Roy nostre sire Francoys premier de ce nom: et Monsieur le Prevost de Paris affin de venir prendre les roolles pour jouer le dict mistere.—On les vend à Paris, etc. 1541.'—5 leaves 8vo.

By the Register of the Parliament of Paris, it appears, that on the 19th of December, 1541, *the Procureur General du Roi* on the one part, complained to the parliament against Francis Hamelin, (*notaire au Chastelet de Paris,*) Francis Pouldrain, (a tapestry-maker,) Leonard Choblets, (butcher,) and John Louvet,

It being the purpose of these sheets to give a mere sketch by way of specimen of these performances, I pass at once to a mo-

(gardener and florist,) the undertakers or managers of the Mystery of the *Acts of the Apostles*, on the other part: For that the defendants having undertaken to represent *Christ's passion* and the *Acts of the Apostles*, had employed mean and illiterate fellows to act, who were not cunning in these matters, and to lengthen out the time had interlarded apocryphal matters, and by introducing drolls and farces at the beginning and end had made the performance last six or seven months; by means whereof nobody went to church, charity grew cold, and immoral excesses were occasioned: Also that at eight or nine o'clock in the morning the people left their parish churches to take their seats in the play-house, and staid there till five in the afternoon, so that the preachers finding nobody to hear them left off preaching; and generally, the parsons of the parishes, to have their pastime at the plays, left off the afternoon prayers on holidays, or said them alone at noon, and even the king's chaplains in the chapel of the household did the same, and ran them off post-haste to be gone to the plays: Further, that the defendants played for lucre, and raised the price, which the first year was twenty and twenty-five crowns, the next thirty and thirty-six crowns, and the then present year forty and fifty crowns of the sun for every box; that the plays occasioned junketting and extraordinary expenses among the common people; that the contributions to the poor had diminished 6000 livres during the six months that the plays lasted; and that notwithstanding all this, one Roger, a fishseller, with a carpenter, a cobbler, and others, in order to get money from the people, had undertaken to act the *Old Testament* next year: wherefore the king's attorney-general had stopped their proceedings. In answer to this, the counsel on the other side said, he appeared not for the company who showed the *Acts of the Apostles*, but for the new company of the Mystery of the *Old Testament*, in whose behalf he answered, that the king, two years before, having seen them act the Mystery of *the Passion*, and been informed how well they played the *Acts of the Apostles*, and that it was worth his while also to see the representation of the *Old Testament*, Roger being present, promised the king to get the Old Testament acted, to which his majesty accorded and granted him his letters patent for the purpose. Whereupon by these letters patent it appeared to the parliament that the new company informed the king that what they did was out of devotion, and to edify the people, whereas their quality and circumstances declared that their object was gain; and that in the *Old Testament* are many things not so proper to be declared to the weak and simple people, lest for want of understanding they might be drawn in to turn Jews. Therefore the parliament ordered the old company to pay to the poor of Paris eight hundred livres out of their profits for playing the *Acts of the Apostles*, and prohibited the new company to play the *Old Testament* till the king's pleasure should be known.—The record at length of these proceedings in the original French is at the end of *Rymer's View of Tragedy*.

dern writer, who mentioning the *theatre at Lisbon*, says that 'Whitaker gives the following account of a piece called the *Creation of the World:*' he does not tell who 'Whitaker' is, nor can I, but the reader is presented with the account just as it is cited.—'On our entrance, we found the theatre nearly filled with well dressed people, the front row of boxes full of ladies most superbly and tastefully dressed, their hair in braids and ornamented with a profusion of diamonds and artificial flowers, without caps; and upon the whole making a very brilliant appearance. The band is a good one, and the theatre is worth attending, were it on no other account than to hear it. When the curtain drew up we saw the *eternal Father* descend in a cloud with a long white beard, with a great number of lights and angels around him: he then gave orders for the creation of the world; over his head was drawn an equilateral triangle, as an emblem of the Trinity. The next scene presented us with the serpent tempting Eve to eat the apple, and his infernal majesty, (the prince of darkness) paid the most exaggerated encomiums to her beauty, in order to engage her to eat, which as soon as he had done, and persuaded Adam to do the same, then came a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning, with a dance of infernal spirits with the devil in the midst, dressed in black with scarlet stockings, and a gold-laced hat on his head. While the dance was performing, a voice from behind the scenes pronounced in a hoarse and solemn manner, the word 'Jesus,' on which the devils immediately vanished in a cloud of smoke. After this, the eternal Father descended in great wrath without any attendant, and called for Noah, (who by the bye we were much surprised to see, as we did not know before that he was at that time in existence, however, appear he did,) who when he appeared, the eternal Father told him he was sorry he had created such a set of ungrateful scoundrels, and that for their wickedness he intended to drown them altogether. Here Noah interceded for them, and at last it was agreed that he should build an ark, and he was ordered to go to *the king's dock-yard in Lisbon*, and there he would see John Gonzalvez, the master builder, for he preferred him to either the French or

English builders, (*this produced great applause*). The eternal Father then went up to heaven, and Noah to build his ark.'[a]

The representation of a mystery called the *Damned Soul*, at

[a] The Portfolio. By J. R. late captain in the Royal Lancashire Militia, and formerly of the Royal Fuzileers. Egerton, 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. vol. i. p. 33.

In the same work there is an official document, a curious memorial of superstition, which is annexed for the reader's amusement.

Translation of a Military Certificate in behalf of St. Anthony as the patron of a Regiment.

Don Hercules Antonio Carlos, Lieut., Joseph Maria de Alberquerque, Araujo de Magalnhaens Homen, noblemen to her majesty's household, &c. &c. I do hereby attest and certify, to all who shall see these presents, written by my command, and signed at the bottom with my sign manual, and with the broad seal of my arms, close to my said signature, and a little to the left of it, that the lord Saint Anthony *of Lisbon*, but falsely called *Padua*, has been inlisted and had a place in this regiment ever since the 24th of January, of the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1688, as will appear more particularly below. I further attest that the fifty-nine within certificates, numbered from unity to the number 59, and with the cypher of my name set close to each number, do contain and comprehend a true and faithful relation of the miracles and other eminent exercises, the said St. Anthony has at different times rendered and performed in this regiment, in consequence of his having a place in it, as attested by many persons now alive, of whose veracity there can be no doubt. I do further certify upon my word of honour, as a nobleman, a knight, and a catholic gentleman and christian, (as by God's grace I am,) what hereunto follows: That having read over and perused attentively all the papers, note-books, and registers of our regiment, ever since its first formation, and having copied out of the said papers every thing relating to the said St. Anthony, it is *de verbo ad verbum*, what follows here, for the truth of which I refer to the said books and papers lodged in the archives of our regiment. That on the 24th of January, 1688, by order of his majesty Don Pedro the Second, St. Anthony was enlisted as a private soldier in this regiment of infantry of Lagos, when it was first formed by command of the said prince, and of such enlistment there was a register found, which now exists in the first column of the register book of this regiment, folio 148, wherein he gave for his surety the queen of angels, who became answerable that he should not desert his colours, but always behave like a good soldier in the regiment; and thus did the saint continue to serve, and to do duty as a private in the regiment, until Sept. 1698, on which day the same prince by the decease of his brother, Alfonso the Sixth, became king of Portugal, and on the same day his majesty promoted St. Anthony to the rank of captain. (Then follow the miracles and services of St. Anthony for the good of the regiment.)

Turin, in 1739, is evidence of so large a substrative mass of superstition, as an Englishman can scarcely imagine to belong to modern times. It was witnessed by the Rev. Joseph Spence, who, in a letter to his mother, dated the 2d of Dec. in that year, and recently published in a very interesting work,[a] gives a lively description of the curious performance. He says:—

"As I was walking one evening under the porticos of the street of the Po, I saw an inscription over a great gate; which, as I am a very curious traveller, you may be sure I did not miss reading. I found by it, that the house belonged to a set of strollers, and that the inscription was a bill of the play they were to act that evening. You may imagine how surprised I was to find it conceived in the following words: "Here under the porticos of the Charitable Hospital for such as have the venereal disease, will be represented this evening, *The Damned Soul, with proper Decorations.*" As this seemed to be one of the greatest curiosities I could possibly meet with in my travels, I immediately paid my threepence, was shewed in with great civility, and took my seat among a number of people, who seemed to expect the tragedy of the night with great seriousness.—At length the curtain drew up; and discovered the *Damned Soul*, all alone, with a melancholy aspect. She was, for what reason I do not know, drest like a fine lady, in a gown of flame-coloured satin. She held a white handkerchief in her hand, which she applied often to her eyes; and in this attitude, with a lamentable voice, began a prayer to the holy and ever blessed Trinity to enable her to speak her part well: afterwards she addressed herself to all the good Christians in the room; begged them to attend carefully to what she had to say, and heartily wished they would be the better for it: she then gave an account of her life; and, by her own confession, appeared to have been a very naughty woman in her time.—This was the *first scene.* At the *second*, a back curtain was drawn, and gave us a sight of our Saviour and the blessed Virgin, amidst the clouds. The poor soul addressed herself to our Saviour first,

[a] Spence's Anecdotes of Books and Men by S. W. Singer, 1820, 8vo. p. 397.

who rattled her extremely, and was indeed all the while very severe. All she desired was to be sent to purgatory, instead of going to hell: and she at last begged very hard to be sent into the fire of the former for as many years as there are drops of water in the sea. As no favour was shown her on that side, she turned to the Virgin and begged her to intercede for her. The Virgin was a very decent woman, and answered her gravely, but steadily; 'that she had angered her son so much, that she could do nothing for her;' and on this they both went away together.—The *third scene* consisted of three little angels and the damned soul. She had no better luck with them; nor with St. John the Baptist and all the saints in the *fourth:* so, in the *fifth*, she was left to two devils, seemingly to do what they would with her: one of these devils was very ill-natured and fierce to her; the other was of the droll kind, and for a devil, I cannot say but what he was good-natured enough, though he delighted in vexing the poor lady rather too much.—In the *sixth* scene matters began to mend a little. St. John the Baptist, (who had been with our Saviour, I believe, behind the scenes) told her, if she would continue her entreaties, there was yet some hope for her. She on this again besought our Saviour and the Virgin to have compassion on her: the Virgin was melted with her tears, and desired her son to have pity on her; on which it was granted, that she should go into the fire only for sixteen or seventeen hundred thousand years; and she was very thankful for the mildness of the sentence.—The *seventh* (and last) *scene*, was a contest between the two infernal devils abovementioned, and her guardian angel. They came in again; one grinning, and the other open mouthed to devour her. The angel told them that they should get about their business. He, with some difficulty, at last drove them off the stage, and handed off the good lady, assuring her that all would be very well, after some hundred of thousands of years with her. —All this while, in spite of the excellence of the actors, the greatest part of the entertainment to me was the countenances of the people in the pit and boxes. When the devils were like to carry her off, every body was in the utmost consternation; and

when St. John spoke so obligingly to her, they were ready to cry out for joy. When the Virgin appeared on the stage, every body looked respectful; and on several words spoke by the actors, they pulled off their hats and crossed themselves. What can you think of a people, where their very farces are religious, and where they are so religiously received? May you be the better for reading of it, as I was for seeing it!—There was but one thing that offended me. All the actors, except the devils, were women, and the person who represented the most venerable character in the whole play, just after the representation, came into the pit; and fell a kissing a barber of her acquaintance, before she had changed her dress. She did me the honour to speak to me too; but I would have nothing to say to her!—It was from such a play as this (called Adam and Eve) that Milton, when he was in Italy, is said to have taken the first hint for his divine poem of Paradise Lost. What small beginnings are there sometimes to the greatest things!'[a]

An obliging correspondent acquaints me with the representation of a Mystery that he saw when a boy at Bamberg, in Germany, about the year 1783. 'The end of a house or barn being taken away, a dark hole appeared hung with old tapestry, the wrong side outwards; a curtain running along and dividing the middle. On this stage the *Creation* was performed. A stupid looking Capuchin personated the Creator. He entered in a large full bottomed wig, with a false beard, wearing over the rusty dress of his order a brocade morning gown, the lining of light blue silk being rendered visible occasionally by the pride that the wearer took to shew it, and he eyed his slippers of the same material with equal satisfaction. He first came on making his way through the tapestry, groping about; and, purposely running his head against posts, exclaimed with a sort of peevish authority, 'Let there be light!' at the same time pushing the ta-

[a] I have taken the liberty to alter some peculiarities in the orthography of Spence's letter. I should not have extracted it entire from Mr. *Singer*'s very pleasant volume, if his author's narrative had permitted abridgment.

pestry right and left, and disclosing a glimmer through linen cloths from candles placed behind them. The creation of the sea was represented by the pouring of water along the stage; and the making of the dry land, by the throwing of mould. Angels were personated by girls and young priests habited in dresses hired from a masquerade shop, to which the wings of geese were clumsily attached near the shoulders. These angels actively assisted the character in the flowered dressing-gown in producing the stars, moon, and sun. To represent winged fowl, a number of cocks and hens were fluttered about: and for other living creatures, some cattle were driven on the stage, with a well shod horse, and two pigs having rings in their noses. Soon afterwards Adam appeared. He was a great clumsy fellow in a strangely shaped wig, and being closely clad with a sort of coarse stocking, looked quite as grotesque as in the worst of the old wood cuts, and something like Orson, but not so decent. He stalked about wondering at every thing, and was followed from among the beasts by a large ugly mastiff with a brass collar on. When he reclined to sleep, preparatory to the production of Eve, the mastiff lay down by him. This occasioned some strife between the old man in brocade, Adam, and the dog, who refused to quit his post; nor would he move when the angels tried to whistle him off. The performance proceeded to the supposed extraction of a rib from the dog's master, which being brought forwards, and shewn to the audience, was carried back to be succeeded by Eve, who in order to seem rising from Adam's side, was dragged up from behind his back through an ill concealed and equally ill contrived trap-door, by the performer in brocade. As he lifted her over, the dog being trod upon, frightened her by a sudden snap so that she tumbled upon Adam. This obtained a hearty kick from a clumsy angel to the dog, who consoled himself by discovering the rib produced before, which being a beef bone, he tried his teeth upon. Eve was personated by a priest of effeminate look, but awkward in form, with long locks, composed of something like strands of rope, which hung stiffly down the back, and were brought round to fasten in front below the waist. So many years have elapsed

that I scarcely recollect any more of this singular scene. But the driving of Adam and Eve out of paradise was entrusted to a priest dressed as an angel, whose fiery pasteboard sword being angrily broken by Adam, in consequence of a blow he received from it on the head, the angel produced from beneath his habit, his knotted capuchin rope, which he so applied to Adam's back, as to effect his expulsion. I am sorry that I do not remember more of this strange performance, but I assure you that I did not perceive any risibility among the audience, which was composed of persons of all ranks; I knew most of them, and with the exception of myself and the persons with me, I believe they were all Roman Catholics. However, I well recollect seeing also at Bamberg a public procession representing the *Passion*, wherein Jews and Romans were dressed like Salvator Rosa's banditti, and wore French small swords. Every thing went off very quietly till it was discovered that some protestant students from Erlang had insinuated lamp-black into the holy water pots. This produced a desperate fight, in which the cross was thrown down, and the young girls who walked in the procession scourging their naked backs, under a vow to continue this discipline to the end, made their way to the Amtmann's (headborough's) door, asking him in terror what they were to do, but lashing themselves all the time. At last the mischievous students were severely, and I must say, deservedly beaten; but the priest who bore the cross and personated Christ, had prudently escaped from the fray, and not being found to conclude the performance, the rest of his brethren persuaded a raw countryman to undertake his part. He did very well until he was to enact the crucifixion. This he found great fault with, and stoutly resisted, insisting in no very civil language that he must and would go home. These exhibitions took place in the neighbourhood of the protestant universities of Erlang and Altona, where they were the objects of as much ridicule as, from ancient usage, they were the subjects of catholic admiration. Custom is an amalgam of sense and folly, and should be watched as jealously as the Inquisition, which, after its establishment, com-

mitted the most horrible cruelties without exciting sympathy; for custom alone, in process of time, rendered the mind indifferent to its dreadful barbarities.'

It might be supposed that mysteries had made their last appearance on any stage; yet the author of Lallah Rookh records the performance of scriptural and apocryphal subjects at Paris, in the year 1817. One of his later pieces[a] introduces an English girl, in that metropolis, relating, epistleways, to her female friend in England, that at

> They call it the play-house—I think—of St. Martin,
> Quite charming—and *very* religious—what folly
> To say that the French are not pious, dear Dolly,
> When here one beholds, so correctly and rightly,
> The *Testament* turn'd into melo-drames nightly;
> And, doubtless, so fond they're of scriptural facts,
> They will soon get the *Pentateuch** up in five acts.
> Here *Daniel*, in pantomime,† bids bold defiance
> To *Nebuchadnezzar* and all his stuff'd lions;
> While pretty young Israelites dance round the prophet,
> In very thin clothing, and *but* little of it:—

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[a] The Fudge Family in Paris, p. 42 and p. 145.

* ['*The Old Testament*,' says the theatrical critic in the "Gazette de France," is a mine of gold for the managers of our small play-houses. A multitude crowd round the theatre de la Gaieté every evening to see the *Passage of the Red Sea*.'

'In the play-bill of one of these sacred melo-drames at Vienna, we find *The Voice of G—d by M. Schwartz*.']

† ['A piece, very popular last year, (1817,) called *Daniel, ou la Fosse aux Lions*. The following scene will give an idea of the daring sublimity of these scriptural pantomimes. "*Scene* 20.—La fournaise devient un berceau de nuages azurés, au fond duquel est un grouppe de nuages plus lumineux, et au milieu *Jehovah* au centre d'un cercle de rayons brillans, qui annonce la presence de l'Eternal."']

Here *Bégrand*,* who shines in this scriptural path,
As the lovely *Susanna*, without ev'n a relic
Of drapery round her, comes out of the bath
In a manner that, Bob says, is quite *Eve*-angelic!

To this late instance of such performances may be annexed, a recent proceeding before the tribunal of Correctional Police at Paris. In October, 1822, M. Michelot, the editor of the *Miroir*, was accused of having outraged the religion of the state, by publishing an article which consisted principally of a letter written from Dieppe, in the following terms:—'*Travelling Shows.*—You must remember to have seen at St. Cloud, certain tents in which monkeys, learned dogs, and other phenomena, are shown to such persons as feel interested in these matters. Walking on the port the other day with some friends, I proposed that we should enter a tent of this kind to see what animals it contained. We approached one, and heard the crier, a trumpet in his hand, calling to the people, and, with the voice of a Stentor, announcing that the show would commence immediately, and that it would be still more wonderful than any that had before been exhibited. "Walk in," said he, "Ladies and Gentlemen; you will see the *Birth of our Saviour, the Doubts of Joseph about the Virgin Mary, his wife, the Passion, the Resurrection*, &c." We rushed in, and obtained the front seat without caring for the price, which, however, was full sixpence. The curtain was soon drawn up, and I saw all the family of Punch transformed into Jews, Pharisees, and magicians. The virgin appeared, and was put to bed and delivered without the pains of childbirth. Joseph, who did not understand this affair, called his spouse some hard names, that mightily pleased the audience,

* [Madame *Bégrand*, a finely formed woman, who acts in *Susanna and the Elders.—L'Amour et la Folie, &c.*][a]

[a] *Madame Bégrand* lately left the pious audiences and congregations of the Theatre de la Porte St. Martin, and the catholic missionaries at Paris, for an engagement at the King's Theatre, London, where the apocryphal story of *Susanna and the elders* is not acted "for example of life and instruction of manners."

which was chiefly composed of the inhabitants of the port. "You see," said a married woman who sat behind me, "that the injustice of husbands preceded the birth of the Saviour." This reflection diverted those who heard it. The "*Passion*" followed what we had just seen. The character of Judas was admirable; however, every body seemed to be of opinion that it was common, and might be met with every day. Herod, with a doctor's cap on his head, interpreted very badly, and discovered in the least actions of our Saviour sufficient cause for his crucifixion. Pontius Pilate washed his hands of the business with an air the most becoming and indifferent imaginable. The show, according to the announcement, finished with the *Resurrection.* The spectators retired, cracking a thousand jokes, upon the puppets changed into Jews and Romans, and I for a moment imagined myself carried back to that remote period of which Boileau speaks, when an ignorant troop of strollers represented mysteries on temporary scaffoldings—

> "Et sottement zélée en sa simplicité,
> Jouait les saints, la Vierge, et Dieu par piété."

The article concluded by some reflections on the abuse of this kind of spectacle, and the King's Advocate, after minutely criticising it, called for the condemnation of M. Michelot, its acknowledged author. M. Chaix d'Est Ange, advocate for M. Michelot, offered to prove that the scandalous spectacle described by the author was really exhibited, and contended that the description was unaccompanied by comments. Upon which the tribunal gave judgment, that the article entitled, '*Travelling Shows*,' was only a description of a theatrical representation which took place in the town of Dieppe, a fact not denied by the public prosecutor, and that the object of the article was not to outrage or turn into ridicule the religion of the state, but rather to shew the impropriety and the abuse of theatrical representations of holy mysteries, and to denounce them, if not to authority, at least to public opinion. The complaint was therefore dismissed.

The theatre of Strasburg, in 1816, exhibited an improvement on the ancient performance of mysteries. It consisted of scenes accurately representing particular events in the life

of Christ from the best pictures of the great masters. Not a word was spoken, and there was very little motion: the harmonica, an instrument of dulcet sound, concealed from view, played sacred tunes, and occasionally the plaintive voices of females sung in parts. In this way were successively exhibited, the annunciation by Guido; the adoration of the shepherds, after Domenichino; the offerings of the wise men, by Rembrandt; the raising of the widow's son, by Da Vinci; the disciples at Emmaus, by Titian; the last supper, by Guido; the washing of the disciples' feet, by Rubens; the scourging, after S. Rosa; the crowning with thorns, by Spagnoletto; the crucifixion, by Rubens; the descent from the cross, by Raphael; and the Resurrection, after An. Caracci. The representation was remarkably impressive.[a]

A gentleman educated in the Jesuits' seminary, belonging to the cathedral of the same city, Strasbourg, informs me that it was, and still is the custom, during the space of a fortnight previous to the vacations of that seminary, for the scholars to perform sacred plays, in the Latin language; and, in particular, he well recollects, the representation in 1769, of the principal subjects in the Old and New Testament, commencing from the creation, and ending with the crucifixion, when he himself played Pilate, and his brother Christ, before audiences of the first rank and opulence. The Old Elector Theodore of Bavaria, especially patronized this species of entertainment, and preferred it to the legitimate drama. The inhabitants of Munich, Straubingen, Ingolstadt, Passau, and most of the towns on the right of the Danube, witnessed these exhibitions every Sunday during Lent, until the French interrupted them; but they have since been restored, and the Annunciation, Incarnation, and other Mysteries are regularly played, at the theatre for concerts and oratorios in Munich. If I am not misinformed the sermons of Father Parhamer, a Jesuit at the court of Joseph I. contain very remarkable anecdotes concerning these plays at that period. In the time of the Empress Maria Theresa, they were encouraged by the royal presence, attended by the court, and had the patron-

[a] Blackwood's Magazine, Nov. 1817.

age of her government. At Berlin, in 1804 and 5, the grand sacred comedy of David, in five acts, with battles and choruses, was performed by the comedians in the National Theatre. Throughout March, April, and May, 1810, the same play was represented at Vienna; and while the Congress was held there in 1815, it was again performed with the utmost possible splendour. The back of the stage, extending into the open air, gradually ascended to a distance sufficient to admit carriages and horses, and the evolutions of at least five hundred Austrian soldiers, infantry and cavalry, who, habited in the characters of Jews and Philistines, carried muskets and carbines, defiled and deployed, charged with the bayonet, let off their fire-arms, and played artillery, to represent the battles described in the Book of Kings. The Emperor Alexander of Russia, the king of Prussia, and other monarchs, with their ministers, and the representatives of different courts, at the Congress, attended these plays, which were exhibited at the great theatre An der Wien to crowded audiences, at the usual prices of admission.

Dr. Burney says, it is certain that the modern tragedy is taken from the mysteries, and that the *Oratorio* is only a mystery, or morality in music. The *Oratorio* commenced with the priests of the Oratory, a brotherhood founded at Rome in 1540, by St. Philip Neri, who in order to draw youth to church, had hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs, or cantatas, sung either in chorus, or by a single favourite voice. These pieces were divided into two parts, the one performed before the sermon, and the other after it. Sacred stories, or events from scripture, written in verse, and by way of dialogue, were set to music, and the first part being performed, the sermon succeeded, which the people were induced to stay and hear, that they might be present at the performance of the second part. The subjects in early times were the good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, Tobit with the angel, his father, and his wife, and similar histories, which by the excellence of the composition, the band of instruments, and the performance, brought the *Oratory* into great repute; and hence this species of musical drama obtained the general appellation of *Oratorio*.

VIII. THE BOY BISHOP—ENGLISH MYSTERIES.

'All this was done with solemnity of celebration and appetite of seeing.'
Gregorie.

St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in the fourth century, was a saint of great virtue, and disposed so early in life to conform to ecclesiastical rule, that when an infant at the breast he fasted on Wednesday and Friday, and sucked but once on each of those days, and that towards night.[a] An Asiatic gentleman sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to wait on the bishop for his benediction. On arriving at Myra with their baggage they took up their lodging at an inn, purposing, as it was late in the day, to defer their visit till the morrow; but in the

[a] Ribadeneira, vol. ii. p. 503.

mean time the innkeeper, to secure their effects to himself, killed the young gentlemen, cut them into pieces, salted them, and intended to sell them for pickled pork. St. Nicholas being favoured with a sight of these proceedings in a vision, went to the inn, and reproached the cruel landlord for his crime, who immediately confessing it, entreated the Saint to pray to heaven for his pardon. The Bishop moved by his confession and contrition, besought forgiveness for him, and supplicated restoration of life to the children. He had scarcely finished when the pieces reunited, and the animated youths threw themselves from the brine-tub at the Bishop's feet: he raised them up, exhorted them to return thanks to God alone, gave them good advice for the future, bestowed his blessing on them, and sent them to Athens with great joy to prosecute their studies.[a]

This miracle, were there no other, sufficiently accounts for St. Nicholas having been anciently selected by scholars and youth for their patron, as well as for the children of the choir selecting his

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[a] Rev. W. Cole, (in Gent.'s Mag. vol. xlvii. p. 158.) from a Life of St. Nicholas, 3d. edit. 4to. Naples, 1645. See *Brand*, vol. i. p. 325. The Salisbury Missal of 1534, fol. xxvii. contains a prayer to St. Nicholas, before which is an engraving on wood of the Bishop with the children rising from the tub; but better than all, by a licence that artists formerly assumed of representing successive scenes in the same print, the landlord himself is shown in the act of reducing a limb into sizes suitable for his mercenary purpose: to be sure there are only two children in the story, and there are three in the tub; but it is fairly to be conjectured that the story was thought so good as to be worth making a little better. As St. Nicholas is the patron of the company of Parish Clerks of London, of whom from their former performance of Mysteries there will be occasion to speak hereafter, as well as the patron of scholars, who also represented these religious plays and likewise personated the Boy Bishop, I have thought it seemly to precede the above narration by a fac-simile of the Missal cut. St. Nicholas is likewise the patron of sailors, for which there are reasons enough in Ribadeneira, if relations of miracles be reasons. That writer also says of St. Nicholas that 'being present at the Council of Nice, among three hundred and eighteen bishops, who were there assembled together to condemn the heresy of Arius he shone among them all with so great clarity, and opinion of sanctity, that he appeared like a sun amongst so many stars.'—*Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii. p. 507.

anniversary for the exhibition about to be described. Anciently on the 6th of December, the choir boys in cathedral churches[a] chose one of their number to maintain the state and authority of a bishop, for which purpose he was habited in rich episcopal robes, wore a mitre on his head, and bore a crosier in his hand; his fellows for the time being assuming the character and dress of priests, yielding him canonical obedience, taking possession of the church, and except mass, performing all the ceremonies and offices. Though the Boy Bishop's election was on the 6th of December, yet his office and authority lasted till the 28th, being Innocents day.[b] From a printed church book containing the service of the Boy Bishop set to music,[c] we learn that on the eve of Innocents day, the Boy Bishop and his youthful clergy, in their copes, and with burning tapers in their hands, went in solemn procession, chanting and singing versicles as they walked into the choir by the west door, in such order that the dean and canons went foremost, the chaplains next, and the Boy Bishop with his priests in the last and highest place. He then took his seat, and the rest of the children disposed themselves upon each side of the choir upon the uppermost ascent, the canons resident bearing the incense and the book, and the petit-canons the tapers according to the rubrick.

[a] Brand, vol. i. p. 330.

[b] Innocents day being an annual commemoration of Herod's murder of the children, 'it hath been a custom, and yet is elsewhere, to whip up the children upon Innocents-day morning that the memorie of this murther might stick the closer; and, in a moderate proportion, to act over the cruelty again in kind.' This custom is cited from Gregorie, by Brand, who omits to mention another which Gregorie states on the authority of an old ritual belonging to the Abbey of Oseney, communicated to him by his friend Dr. Gerard Langbain, the Provost of Queen's College, from which it appears that at the church of Oseney, 'they were wont to bring out upon this day the foot of a child prepared after their fashion, and put upon with red and black colours, as to signify the dismal part of that day. They put this up in a chest in the vestry, ready to be produced at the time, and to be solemnly carried about the church to be adored by the people.'—*Gregorie's Works*, 1684, 4to. (*Episcopus Puerorum in Die Innocentium,*) p. 113.

[c] Processionale ad usum insignis et preclare Ecclesie Sarum, Rothomagi, 1566, 4to.

Afterwards he proceeded to the altar of the Holy Trinity, and All saints, which he first censed, and next the image of the Holy Trinity, his priests all the while singing. Then they all chanted a service with prayers and responses, and, in the like manner taking his seat, the Boy Bishop repeated salutations, prayers, and versicles, and in conclusion gave his benediction to the people, the chorus answering, *Deo gratias*. After he received his crosier from the cross-bearer other ceremonies were performed, and he chanted the complyn; turning towards the quire he delivered an exhortation; and last of all said, 'Benedicat Vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius, et spiritus Sanctus.' By the statute of Sarum no one was to interrupt or press upon the children during their procession or service in the cathedral, upon pain of anathema. It appears that the Boy Bishop at this cathedral held a kind of visitation, and maintained a corresponding state and prerogative; and he is supposed to have had power to dispose of prebends that fell vacant during his episcopacy. If he died within the month he was buried like other bishops in his episcopal ornaments, his obsequies were solemnized with great pomp, and a monument was erected to his memory, with his episcopal effigy.

About a hundred and fifty years ago a Boy-Bishop's monument in stone was discovered in Salisbury cathedral under the seats near the pulpit, from whence it was removed to the north part of the nave between the pillars, and covered over with a box of wood, to the great admiration of those who unacquainted with the anomalous character it designed to commemorate, thought it 'almost impossible that a bishop should be so small in person, or a child so great in clothes.' Gregorie, who was a prebendary of Salisbury, relates the finding of this monument, and inserts a representation of it in his treatise from which the sketch on the ensuing page is a copy.[a]

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[a] Brand, (vol. i. p. 332.) says that 'Gregory in his account of the *Episcopus Puerorum*, thought he had made a great discovery, and confined it to Salisbury.' This is an incorrect representation, which I notice the rather as Brand is usually accurate, and because Gregorie had before been contemptuously spoken of by

The ceremony of the Boy Bishop is supposed to have existed not only in collegiate churches, but in almost every parish. He

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Bentley, in his answer to Collins, as 'one Gregory.' There is no affectation of a 'great discovery' in Gregory's narrative; and so far from his supposing that the Boy Bishop was 'confined to Salisbury,' he adduces instances to the contrary. It is true that at first he did not know the occasion of the monument there, and that the bishop of the diocese (Montagne) wishing him to inquire further, he found in the statutes the title concerning the chorister-bishop, which directed him to the processional: yet he afterwards notices the same custom at *York;* cites Molanus as saying, 'that this bishop in some places did *reditat census, et capones annuo accipere*, receive rents, capons, &c. during his year, &c.' and that a chorister-bishop in the church of Cambray disposed of a prebend which fell void during his episcopal assumption to his master; and refers to the denunciation of the Boy Bishop by the council of Basil as a well known custom. Dr. Sharpe (Argum. in def. of Christianity, 8vo. 1755, p. 156,) quotes him as 'the *learned* Mr. John Gregory of Oxford.'

and his companions walked about in procession. A statute of the collegiate church of St. Mary Offery, in 1337, restrained one of them within the limits of his own parish. On Dec. 7, 1229, the day after St. Nicholas's day, the Boy Bishop in the chapel at Heton, near Newcastle upon Tyne, said vespers before Edward I. on his way to Scotland, who made a considerable present to him and the other boys who sang with him. In the reign of king Edward III. he received a present of nineteen shillings and sixpence for singing before the king in his private chamber on Innocents day. Dean Colet in the statutes of the school founded by him in 1512, at St. Paul's, expressly orders that his scholars shall every Childermas (Innocents) day, 'come to Paulis Churche and hear the Chylde-Byshop's sermon: and after be at the hygh masse, and each of them offer a penny to the Chylde-Byshop: and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole.' By a proclamation of Henry VIII. dated July 22, 1542, the show of the Child-Bishop was abrogated, but in the reign of Mary it was revived. One of the flattering songs sung before that queen by the Boy Bishop and printed, was a panegyric on her devotion, and compared her to Judith, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, and the Virgin Mary. The accounts of St. Mary at Hill, London, in the 10th Henry VI., and for 1549, and 1550, contain charges for the Boy Bishops of those years. At this period his estimation seems to have been undiminished; for on Nov. 13, 1554, the Bishop of London issued an order to all the clergy of his diocese to have a Boy Bishop in procession; and in the same year he went about St. Andrew's Holborn, and St. Nicholas Olaves in Bread-street, and other parishes. In 1556, the Boy Bishop again went abroad singing in the old fashion, and was received by many ignorant but well-disposed persons into their houses, and had much good cheer.

Warton affirms that the practice of electing a Boy Bishop subsisted in common grammar-schools; for St. Nicholas as the patron of scholars has a double feast at Eton College, where, in the papal times, the *scholars* (to avoid interfering as it should seem with the Boy Bishop of the *college* on St. Nicholas day) elected

their Boy Bishop on St. Hugh's day, in the month of November. Brand is of opinion that the anniversary *montem* at Eton, is only a corruption of the ceremony of the Boy Bishop and his companions, who by the edict of Henry VIII. being prevented from mimicking any longer their religious superiors, gave a new face to their festivity, and began their present play at soldiers, and electing a captain. Even within the memory of persons alive when Brand wrote, the *montem* was kept in the winter time a little before Christmas, although it is now kept on Whit Tuesday. A former provost of the school remembered when the scholars were accustomed to cut a passage through the snow from Eton to the hill called Salt-hill. After the procession had arrived, the chaplain with his clerk used to read prayers, and then, at the conclusion, the chaplain kicked the clerk down the hill.[a]

During the period of gloom that succeeded the first ages of ecclesiastical power, we have seen the nature of the diversions it provided for the people on the continent; and that one of them, the ceremony of the Boy Bishop, was practised in the churches here. From the same source England derived the precursors of its regular drama, the *Mysteries*. The first trace of theatrical representation in this country is recorded by Matthew Paris, who wrote about 1240, and relates that Geoffrey, a learned Norman, master of the school of the Abbey of Dunstable, composed the play of St. Catharine, which was acted by his scholars. Geoffrey's

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[a] Brand, Warton, and Gregorie, from whom, with the exceptions noted, these particulars are taken, may be consulted for further information concerning the *Boy Bishop*. Brand has also preserved this *Extract from the St. James's Chronicle*, of Nov. 16 to 18, 1797:—'From Zug in Switzerland, it is observed, that the annual procession of the Fete of *the Bishop and his Scholars*, on the fair-day is suppressed by authority. The bishop it seems was only a scholar habited as such. Going through the streets, he was preceded by a chaplain carrying his crosier, and followed by a fool in the usual costume, the latter also carrying a staff with a bladder filled with pease. Other scholars, dressed like canons, with a military guard, made up the procession. After going to church, it was the Bishop's custom to go and demand money from all the booths and stands in the fair. The French, and other traders, it is said, had complained of this absurd exaction, and the Bishop, it is added, means to appeal to the Pope.'

performance took place in the year 1110, and he borrowed copes from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of St. Albans, to dress his characters.[a] Fitzstephen writing in 1174, says, that 'London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays, either the representations of miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of martyrs.'[b] Besides those of Coventry, there are MSS. of the Chester Mysteries,[c] ascribed to Ranulph Higden, compiler of the Polychronicon, and a Benedictine monk of that city, where they were performed at the expense of the incorporated trades, with a thousand days of pardon from the Pope, and forty days of pardon from the Bishop of Chester, to all who attended the representation, which is supposed to have been first had in the year 1328.[d]

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[a] Warton, vol. i. Dissert. ii. Geoffrey was afterwards made abbot of St. Alban's Priory.

[b] 'Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, repræsentationes miraculorum, quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repræsentationes papiouum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum.'—*Descript. Nobilit. Civit. Lund. in Vita S. Thomæ.*

[c] Harl. MSS. 2013, 2124.

[d] 'About the eighth century trade was principally carried on by means of fairs which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France, as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman successors in England. The merchants who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no public spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestic life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shows were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered still more attractive, by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at the protracted annual fairs made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries presented

It is related in the Museum MS.[a] of these Chester plays, that the author 'was thrice at Rome before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the English tongue,' from which fact, Warton thinks, 'a presumptive proof arises that all our *mysteries* before that period were in Latin; these plays will therefore have the merit of being the first *English* interludes.'[b] After the well known fondness of our ancestors for shows, it is too much, perhaps, to say, that on their church festivals and occasions of public rejoicing, they had no interludes in English; seeing too that one hundred and fifty years before, Fitzstephen expressly declares that our theatrical representations in London were of a religious character. These must have been in English to have been understood; and so must the miracle play of St. Catherine, in 1110, if, as was probably the case, it was publicly performed on some feast-day. Though Warton does not allude, probably, to such early times, when he says, that 'during the celebration of the festival of the Boy Bishop moralities were presented, and shows of miracles, with farces, and other sports;'[c] yet, as the festival of the Boy Bishop was in England under Edward I.,[d] and doubtless, from his high antiquity on the continent, long antecedent to that reign, it is reasonable to suppose that *English* interludes of some kind, if not coeval with the Boy Bishop, were at least contemporaneous with him for a long time before Edward I.

What could occasion the author of the Chester plays to take a journey thrice to Rome, before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the *English* tongue? The *subjects* of these plays 'from the Old and New Testament,' seem to me to supply the reasons for the difficulty in obtaining the Pope's consent. Scripture in English had been scrupulously withheld from the people, and the Pope probably anticipated that if they were made acquainted with a portion of it, the remainder would be demanded;

stories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy.' —*Warton*, vol. ii. p. 367.

[a] MS. 2124. [b] Warton, vol. ii. p. 180.

[c] Ibid. vol. i. p. 248. [d] Page 198, *ante*.

while the author of the plays, better acquainted than the Pope with the more immediate difficulty of altogether repressing the curiosity that had been excited towards it, conceived perhaps, that the growing desire might be delayed by distorted and confusing representations of certain portions.[a] What for instance can be more ridiculous than the anachronisms and tone of the following extract from the play of the *Flood*, which represents Noah's wife positively refusing to enter the ark:

Noe.

Good wife, doe now, as I thee bidd.

Noe's Wife.

By Christ not I, ere I see more need,
Though thou stande all day and stare.

Noe.

Lorde! that women ben crabed be,
And not are meeke, I dare well saye;
That is well seene by me, to day,
In witnes of ye eichone:—
Good wife, let be all this beare,
That thou makest in this place here,
For all they wene thou art master,
And soe thou arte, by Saint John.

[a] It was the prevailing opinion that even the Latin Bibles should not be common or allowed in every one's hands. Accordingly our poet Chaucer represents the religious as gathering them up and putting them in their libraries, and so imprisoning them from secular priests and curates, and therefore hindering them from preaching the gospel to the people. When therefore Abp. Fitz Ralph, in 1357, sent three or four of the secular priests of his diocese of Armagh into England, to study divinity in Oxford, they were forced very soon to return, because they could not find there a bible to be sold. And indeed, had the copies of the bible been more frequent than they were, it is no wonder they were made so little use of, if what the writers of these times, D. Wiclif, Archdeacon Clemangis, Bekith, and others, say, be true, that the clergy were generally so ignorant, as not to be able to read Latin or con their Psalter.—*Lewis's Hist. of Eng. Transl.* p. 53.

Such corruptions and absurdities, seconded by the eloquence of their author, might abate the papal fears concerning the appearance of these *scriptural* interludes in *English*, and finally obtain the sanction for their performance.

It may be supposed that the Chester Plays, written in an early and dark age, would contain a great mass of apocryphal interpolation, and that the Coventry Plays, written much later, would contain less; yet the contrary is the fact. Among the Chester Mysteries the Descent into Hell is the only one not founded on Scripture, and *that* even has a colourable authority by implication; while among the Coventry Mysteries, which were produced ninety years afterwards, we see that there are, besides the Descent, no less than eight founded on Apocryphal New Testament story. This remarkable difference of feature, may, I think, be accounted for. From the fourth century, when Gregory Nazianzen and the Apollonarii turned portions of the Bible into tragedies and comedies, the clergy of the continent must have done much in the same way, and with much of apocryphal engraftment; and though 'religious plays' prevailed in England, yet *Scriptural* subjects were new to the people, and the *Chester* Mystery-maker of 1328, found these so numerous as to render recourse to the New Testament *Apocrypha* unnecessary. But the *Coventry* Mystery-maker of 1416, was under circumstances that would suggest powerful motives to the cunning of a monkish mind for apocryphal adoption. He was likely to conceive that a false glare might obscure the dawnings of the human mind. The rising day of the Reformation had been foretold by the appearance of its 'morning star,' in the person of the intrepid Wycliffe, who exercised the right of private judgment in England, a century and a half before Luther taught it as a principle in Germany. It was a period of fearful foreboding to the church. In 1404, Henry IV. held a parliament at Coventry, which, from its desire to compel the clergy to contribute largely to the exigencies of the state, was called the Laymen's Parliament. The country was in imminent danger; an abundant supply of money

was immediately necessary; the church property and income were enormous; the parliament knew that this profusion of ecclesiastical wealth could only have been acquired from the industry of the laity; and they represented that the clergy had been of little service to the king, while the laity had served in his wars with their persons, and by contributions for the same purpose had impoverished their estates. The Archbishop of Canterbury said that if the clergy did not fight in person their tenants fought for them, that their contributions had been in proportion to their property, and that the church had offered prayers and masses day and night for God's blessing on the king and the army. The speaker, Sir John Cheyne, answered, that the prayers of the church were a very slender supply. To this the archbishop replied, that it might easily be seen what would become of the kingdom when such devout addresses were so slighted. The persistence of the archbishop saved the church at that time from the impending storm; but the priests saw that their exactions and their worship were only tolerated. Wycliffe had then been dead about twenty years. After a life wonderfully preserved from the unsparing cruelty of ecclesiastical power, by the protection of Edward III., his memory was affectionately revered, and, as printing had not been discovered, his writings were scarce and earnestly sought. The good seed of dissent had germinated, and the appearance of dissenters at intervals, was a specimen of the harvest that had not yet come. Nothing more fearfully alarmed the establishment than Wycliffe's translation of the New Testament into English.[a] All arts were used to suppress it, and to enliven the slumbering attachment of the people to the 'good old customs' of the

[a] 'Because writing was dear and expensive, and copies therefore of the whole New Testament not easy to be purchased by the generality of persons, Dr. Wiclif's portions of it were often written in small volumes. Of these we often find mention made in the Bishop's registers as prohibited books, for having and reading which, people were then detected and prosecuted, and burnt to death, with these little books hanged about their necks'.—*Lewis's Hist. of Eng. Transl.* p. 59.

church. There is abundant evidence of studious endeavours to both these ends in the Coventry Mysteries. The priests industriously reported that Wycliffe's Testament was a false one; that he had distorted the language and concealed facts. There was no printing press to multiply copies of his book; biblical criticism was scarcely known but by being denounced; the ecclesiastics anathematized scriptural inquiry as damnable heresy from their confessionals and pulpits; and as 'the churches served as theatres for holy farces,'[a] the Franciscan friars of Coventry shortly after the meeting of the Laymen's Parliament in that city, craftily engrafting stories from the pseudo-gospels upon narratives in the New Testament, composed and performed the plays called the Coventry Mysteries. These fraudful productions were calculated to postpone the period of illumination, and to stigmatize, by implication, the labours of Wycliffe. Yet, if the simulation succeeded for awhile with the vulgar, it reinvigorated the honest and the persevering; and as the sun breaks forth after a season of cold and darkness, so truth finally emerging from the gulph of the papal hierarchy, animated the torpid intellect, and cheered the 'long abused sight.'

But to return. Warton says, that in very early times, while no settled or public theatre was known, and itinerant minstrels acted in the halls of the nobility at Christmas, plays were performed by the boys at the public schools, and have continued to be so to the present time, of which the practice of acting Latin plays at Westminster, Eton, and other seminaries, are examples. In 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a scholar and a lover of graceful erudition, wrote plays in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were Dives and Lazarus, the delivering of Susannah, Job's sufferings, the burning of John Huss, Patient Grizzle, &c. The ancient consuetudinary as it is called of Eton school, containing all its old and original customs, relates that about the 30th of November the master was accustomed to choose such Latin stage plays as

[a] Warton, vol. ii. p. 367.

were most excellent and convenient to be played in the following Christmas holidays before a public audience. While the people were amused with Skelton's Trial of Simony, Bale's God's Promises, and Christ's Descent into Hell, the scholars of the times were composing and acting dramas on historical subjects; and though Warton supposes it probable that on this ground we may account for plays being acted by singing boys, yet he thinks that they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical representations from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the *Boy Bishop*, which seem to have been common in almost every religious community that was capable of supporting a choir.[a] The scholars of St. Paul's school in London, were, till a comparatively late period, in great celebrity for their theatrical talent, which it appears was in full exercise upon the Mysteries so early as the reign of Richard II.; for in that year, 1378, they presented a petition to his majesty, praying him 'to prohibit some unexpert people from presenting the history of the Old and New Testament, to the great prejudice of the said clergy, who have been at great expense in order to represent it publicly at Christmas.'[b]

But the more eminent performers of mysteries in London, were the society of Parish Clerks. On the 18th, 19th, and 20th of July, 1390, they played interludes at the Skinner's Well, as the usual place of their performance, before king Richard II., his queen, and their court; and at the same place, in 1490, they played the Creation of the World, and subjects of the like kind, for eight successive days, to splendid audiences of the nobility and gentry from all parts of England. The parish-clerks' ancient performances are memorialized in raised letters of iron, upon a pump on the east side of Rag Street, now called Ray Street,

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[a] Warton, vol. ii. p. 389.

[b] Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. i. Pref. p. xii. From Mysteries the boys of St. Paul's school proceeded to more regular dramas; and at the commencement of a theatre, were the best and almost the only comedians. They became at length so favourite a set of players as often to act at court, and on particular occasions of festivity, were frequently removed from London for this purpose only, to the royal houses at some distance from town.—*Warton*, vol. ii. p. 391.

beyond the Sessions-house, Clerkenwell. The inscription is as follows:

'A. D. 1800. WILLIAM BOUND, JOSEPH BIRD, Church-wardens. For the better accommodation of the Neighbourhood, this Pump was removed to the spot where it now stands.

The spring, by which it is supplied is situated, four feet eastward, and round it, as history informs us, the Parish Clerks of London, in remote Ages, commonly performed sacred plays. That custom caused it to be denominated Clerk's-well, and from which this parish derived its name.

The water was greatly esteemed by the Prior and Brethren of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Benedictine Nuns in the neighbourhood.'

The pump of the Skinner's well is let into a low dead wall. On its north side is an earthenware shop; and on the south a humble tenement occupied by a bird-seller, whose cages with their chirping tenants, hang over and around the inscription. The passing admirer of linnets and redpoles, now and then stops awhile to listen to the melody, and refresh his eye with a few green clover turfs, that stand on a low table for sale by the side of the door; while the monument, denoting the histrionic fame of the place, and alluding to the miraculous powers of the water for healing incurable diseases, which formerly attracted multitudes to the spot, remains unobserved beneath its living attractions. The present simplicity of the scene powerfully contrasts with the recollection of its former splendour. The choral chant of the Benedictine nuns accompanying the peal of the deep-toned organ through their cloisters, and the frankincense curling its perfume from priestly censers at the altar, are succeeded by the stunning sounds of numerous quickly plied hammers, and the smith's bellows flashing the fires of Mr. Bound's iron foundry, erected upon the unrecognised site of the convent. This religious house stood about half-way down the declivity of the hill, which commencing near the church on Clerkenwell Green, terminates at the river

Fleet. The prospect then, was uninterrupted by houses, and the people upon the rising grounds could have had an uninterrupted view of the performances at the well. About pistol-shot from thence, on the N. N. E. part of the hill, there was a Bear-Garden; and scarcely so far from the well, at the bottom of the hill westward, and a little to the north, in the hollow of Air Street, lies Hockley in the Hole, where different rude sports, which probably arose with the discontinuance of the Parish Clerks' acting, were carried on, within the recollection of persons still living, to the great annoyance of this suburb.[a]

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[a] "To the ecclesiastical origin of the drama we must refer the plays acted by the society of the Parish-clerks of London. It was an essential part of their profession not only to sing but to read; an accomplishment almost solely confined to the clergy: and on the whole they seem to come under the denomination of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowship, by King Henry III. about 1240, under the patronage of St. Nicholas. It was anciently customary for men and women of the first quality, ecclesiastics, and others who were lovers of church music, to be admitted into this corporation, and they gave large gratuities for the support or education of many persons in the practice of that science. Their public feasts were frequent and celebrated with singing and music; most commonly at Guildhall chapel or college. (Stowe's Survey Lond. ut supra, lib. v. p. 231.) Before the reformation this society was constantly hired to assist as a choir at the magnificent funerals of the nobility or other distinguished personages, which were celebrated within the city of London or in its neighbourhood. The splendid ceremonies of their annual procession and mass in the year 1554, are thus related by Strype from an old Chronicle, "May the sixth was a goodly evensong at Guildhall college, by the masters of the *clarks* and their fellowship, with singing and playing, and the morrow after was a great mass, at the same place, and by the same fraternity; when every clark offered an halfpenny. The mass was sung by divers of the Queen's (Mary) chapel, and children. And after mass done every clark went their procession, two and two together; each having on a surplice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then, fourscore standards, streamers, and banners; and each one that bore them had an alb or a surplice. Then came in order the waits playing: and then thirty clarkes sing *festa dies*. There were four of these choirs. Then came a canopy, borne over the sacrament by four of the masters of the clarkes with staffe, torches burning, &c." (Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. c. xiii. p. 121.) Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind: and their constant practice in shews, pro-

The religious guild, or fraternity of *Corpus Christi* at York, was obliged annually to perform a *Corpus Christi Play*. Drake says, that this ceremony must have been in its time one of the most extraordinary entertainments the city could exhibit; and would necessarily draw a great concourse of people out of the country

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cessions, and vocal music, easily accounts for their address in detaining the last company which England afforded in the fourteenth century at a religious farce for more than a week.'—*Warton*, vol. ii. p. 397.

I can find no registries of the parish of Clerkenwell, early enough to supply any trace respecting the playing of the Parish Clerks. From the poor's-rate-books I took a few extracts, which, as shewing the number of houses rated, and the quality of some of the ancient inhabitants, may be interesting, perhaps, to certain readers. In the oldest, for the year 1666, the only places mentioned, and the number of houses assessed in each place are as follows: Islington, 47. St. John Street, (or Swan Alley) 43. St. John's Lane, 41. Garden Alley, 23. St. Johns's, 17. Clerkenwell Greene, 47. Turnmill Street, 112. Bowleing Alley, 15. Street-side, 4. Clerkenwell Cloase, 43. The Fields, 8. Out-landlords, 18—*Total*, 418. The assessments were by lunar months. In this rate-book, there are the following names among the inhabitants; the sums to each are their monthly assessments. The Earle of Carlisle, 8*s*. The Earle of Essex, 8*s*. The Earle of Ailesbury, *what he pleaseth according to his desire* (10*s*.). The Lord Barkely, 7*s*. The Lord Townsend, *at his honour's pleasure*. Lady Crofts, 3*s*. 6*d*. The Lord Dellawar, 2*s*. 6*d*. Lady Wordham, 2*s*. Sir John Keeleing, *referred to his honour's pleasure*. Sir John Cropley, 6*s*. Sir Edward Bannister, 3*s*. 6*d*. Sir Nicholas Stroude, 2*s*. Sir Gower Barrington, 2*s*. Dr. King, 2*s*. 6*d*. Dr. Sloane, 8*d*.—In the rate-books for 1667 and 8, are the following additional names: The Duke of Newcastle, (not assessed). Lord Baltimore, 4*s*. 6*d*. Lady Wright, 4*s*. Lady Mary Dormer, 4*s*. Lady Wyndham, 2*s*. Sir Erasmus Smith, 4*s*. Sir Richard Cliverton, 4*s*. Sir John Burdish, 3*s*. 8*d*. Sir Goddard Nelthrope, 3*s*. Sir John King, 3*s*. Sir William Bowles, 2*s*. 6*d*. Sir William Boulton, 2*s*. 6*d*. The Mannour house in 'the Fields' was assessed at 6*d*. There were several bowling-greens in Clerkenwell. The monthly assessment of 'Mr. Briscoe, at the Ram, in Smithfield, for a feiled and bowling-alley in this parish,' was 1*s*. 6*d*.

In 1708, when Hatton wrote his 'View of London,' Clerkenwell contained 1146 houses. In the present year, 1822, the parish-books rate about 6000. Hatton says, that Isabella Sackville, the last prioress of Clerkenwell, died 21st October, 1570, and was buried in the old church, destroyed by fire about thirty years ago, with her effigies in brass on a gravestone. Also, beneath a curious tomb, Sir William Weston, the last Lord Prior of St.

to see it. Every trade in the city, from the highest to the lowest, was obliged to furnish out a pageant at its own expense on this occasion. The subjects were from the history of the Old and New Testament, and each trade represented some particular part, and spoke suitable verses. Many orders and ordinances, existing in the city's registers, regulate the performance of this religious ceremony. One of these recites, that Whereas for a long course of time the artificers and tradesmen of the city of York, have, at their own expense, acted plays; and particularly a certain sumptuous play, exhibited in several pageants, wherein the history of the Old and New Testament, in divers places of the said city, in the feat of *Corporis Christi*, by a solemn procession, is represented in reverence to the sacrament of the body of Christ; beginning first at the great gates of the priory of the holy Trinity in York, and so going in procession to, and into the cathedral church of the same, and afterwards to the hospital of St. Leonard, in York, leaving the aforesaid sacrament in that place; preceded by a vast number of lighted torches, and a great multitude of priests in their proper habits, and followed by the mayor and citizens, with a prodigious crowd of the populace attending: And further reciting, that whereas, upon this, a certain very religious father, William Melton, of the order of the Friars Minors, professor of Holy Pageantry, and a most famous preacher of the word of God, coming to the city, in several sermons recommended the aforesaid play to the people, affirming that it was good in itself, and very commendable so to do; yet also said, that the citizens of the said city, and other foreigners coming to the said feast, had greatly disgraced the

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John of Jerusalem, who, upon its dissolution, was allowed 1,000*l.* per ann. for life, but died, it was supposed of grief, on May the 7th, 1540, the very day the house was dissolved. John Weever, the antiquary, author of the Funeral Monuments, was likewise buried there, with a monument and inscription, declaring, that

> —— wheresoe'er a ruin'd tomb he found
> His pen hath built it new out of the ground.

play by revellings, drunkenness, shouts, songs, and other insolences, little regarding the divine offices of the said day, and what was to be lamented, losing for that reason the indulgences by the holy father Pope Urban IV. graciously conceded: Therefore, (as it seemed most wholesome to the said father William) the people of the city were inclined that the play should be played on one day, and the procession on another, so that people might attend divine service at the churches on the said feast, for the indulgences aforesaid: Wherefore, Peter Buckey, mayor of the city, Richard Russell, late mayor of the staple of York, with the sheriffs, aldermen, and others, of the number of the twenty-four, being met in the council chamber on the 6th of June, 1426, and by the said wholesome exhortations and admonitions of the said father William, being incited that it is no crime, nor can it offend God *if good be converted into better;* and having diligently considered of the premises, unanimously determined to convene the citizens together in common-hall, for the purpose of having their consent that the premises should be better reformed; whereupon the mayor so convened the citizens on the 10th of the same month, and made solemn proclamation that the play of Corpus Christi should be played every year on the vigil of the said feast, and the procession made on the day of the feast.' A solemn proclamation for the play of Corpus Christi, made on the aforesaid vigil, commands on behalf of the king, the mayor, and the sheriffs of the city, that no man go armed to the disturbance of the peace and the play, and the hindering of the procession, but that they leave their weapons at their inns, upon pain of forfeiture of their weapons, and imprisonment of their bodies, save the keepers of the pageants and officers of the peace; that the players in the pageants play at the places assigned, and no where else, on pain of forty shillings; that men of the crafts, and all others that find torches, come forth in array as in manner aforetime; that the craftsmen bring forth their pageants in order and course, by good players well arrayed, and openly speaking, upon pain of one hundred shillings, to be paid to the chamber without pardon; and that every player be ready in his pageant at convenient time, that is to

say, at the (first) betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, and then all other pageants following, each after the other in order, without delay, upon pain of six shillings and eight pence. William Bowes, mayor, by regulation, dated the 7th of June, 1417, ordains, that all the pageants of the play of Corpus Christi should be brought forth in order by the artificers of the city of York, and begin to play first at the gates of the priory of the holy Trinity in *Mikelgate*, next at the door of Robert Harpham, next at the door of the late John Gyseburn, next at *Skelder-gate-hend* and *North-strete-hend*, next at the end of *Conyng-strete* towards *Castel-gate*, next at the end of *Jubir-gate*, next at the door of Henry Wyman deceased in *Conyng-strete*, then at the *Common-hall* at the end of Conynge-strete, then at the door of Adam del Brigs, deceased, in *Stayne-gate*, then at the end of Stayn-gate at the *Minster-gates*, then at the end of *Girdler-gate* in *Peter-gate*, and lastly, upon the *Pavement*, &c. And father William de Melton, willing to destroy sin, and a great lover of virtue, having, by preaching, exhorted the populace that they would cause to be removed all public concubines in fornication or adultery, wherefore the mayor, by consent of the community, ordained that they should depart the city within eight days, on pain of imprisonment, unless any of them should find good security that she would not exercise her illegal vocation for the future.

It appears from the regulation of the pageants for this play at York, in the mayoralty of William Alne, in 1415, compiled by Roger Burton, the town-clerk, that they were fifty-four in number. They commenced with '*God* the Father Almighty, creating and forming the heavens, angels, archangels, Lucifer, and the angels that fell with him into hell;' the tanners performed this: the next, being '*God* the Father in his own substance, creating the earth, and all which is therein, in the space of five days,' was represented by the plasterers: the third '*God* the Father creating *Adam* of the slime of the earth, and making *Eve* of the rib, and inspiring them with the spirit of life,' was played by the card-makers: the fifty-fourth, '*Jesus*, Mary, twelve apostles, four angels with trumpets, and four with a lance with two scourges, four good, and

four bad spirits, and six devils,' was performed by the mercers. The town-clerk's *entry* mentions the torches and torch-bearers in the procession: 'Porters, eight torches; coblers, four torches; cordwaners, fourteen torches; cottellers, two torches; wevers, [illegible] torches; carpenters, six torches; chaloners, four torches; fullers, four torches; girdellers, — torches; taillers, — torches; fifty-eight citizens had torches alike on the day of Corpus Christi; and it was ordained that the porters and coblers should go first; then of the right the wevers and cordwaners; on the left the fullers, cutlers, girdellers, chaloners, carpenters, and taillours; then the better sort of citizens; and after, the twenty-four (common councilmen), the twelve (aldermen), the mayor, and four torches of Mr. Thomas Buckton.'

The fraternity of Corpus Christi at York was very popular. Several hundreds of persons were annually admitted, and it was supported chiefly by the annual collection made at the procession. The religious ceremony of the Corpus Christi play and procession was instituted there about the year 1250; it was to be celebrated each year on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday; and this play, as a piece of religious pageantry, was so much esteemed that it was acted in that city till the twenty-sixth year of Queen Elizabeth, 1584.[a] The mode of performing the Mysteries at York is thus minutely particularized, in order to convey some notion of the general method of representing them in other cities: there is little doubt that the corporations strove to outvie each other in the elaboration and splendor of their exhibitions.

Corpus Christi day, at Newcastle upon Tyne, was celebrated with similar exhibitions by the incorporated trades. The earliest mention of the performance of mysteries there, is in the ordinary of the coopers for 1426. In 1437, the barbers played the Baptizing of Christ. In 1568, the Offering of Abraham and Isaac was exhibited by the slaters. By the ordinary of the goldsmiths, plumbers, glaziers, pewterers, and painters, dated 1536, they were

[a] Drake's York, p. 223, 246. App. p. xxix. The town clerk's order for the pageants of the play is set out at length in the Appendix.

commanded to play at their feast 'the three kings of Coleyn.' In the books of the fullers and dyers, one of the charges for the play of 1561, is, 'Item for 3 yard and a^{q}. lyn cloth for God's coat, 3*s*. 2*d*. ob.' From the ordinary of different trades it seems that about 1578, the Corpus Christi plays were on the decline, and never acted but by a special command of the magistrates of Newcastle. They are spoken of as the general plays of the town of Newcastle, and when thought necessary by the mayor to be set forth and played, the millers were to perform the Deliverance of Israel; the house-carpenters, the Burial of Christ; the masons, the Burial of our lady Saint Mary the Virgin. Between the first and last mentioned periods, there are many minutes in the trades' books of the acting in different years, which may be seen in Brand's History of Newcastle, together with the only vestige that remains of the Newcastle Mysteries, entitled, 'Noah's Ark, or the shipwright's ancient play, or dirge,' wherein God, an Angel, Noah and his wife, and the Devil, are the characters. In this, as well as the Chester Mystery of the same subject, the wife of Noah is a vixen; the last words she says to him, are,

> The devil of hell thee speed
> To ship when thou shalt go.

The performance of miracle plays is noticed in the ancient piece written against the mendicant friars, entitled, Peres the Ploughman's Crede—

> We haunten no tauernes, ne hobelen abouten
> At marketes, and *miracles* we medely vs neuer.[a]

Chaucer, also, in the Wife of Bath's Prologue, makes her say—

> Therefore made I my Visitations
> To Vigilis and to Processions,
> To prechings eke, and to Pilgrimagis,
> To plays of *Miracles* and Mariages,
> And werid on me my gay skarlit gites, &c.[b]

Lydgate, the monk of Bury, and the follower of Chaucer, as his disciple at an immeasurable distance, composed 'a procession of pageants from the creation.'[c]

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[a] Ed. 1553. Sig. Biij.

[b] Chaucer, Urry's Ed. p. 80. l. 555-9.

[c] Ritson's Bibliog. Poetica, p. 79.

In the reign of Henry VII. 1487, that king, in his castle of Winchester, was entertained on a Sunday while at dinner with the performance of Christ's Descent into Hell, by the choir boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory, two large monasteries there;[a] and in the same reign, 1489, there were shows and ceremonies, and (religious) plays, exhibited in the palace at Westminster.[b]

On the feast of St. Margaret, in 1511, the Miracle play of the holy Martyr St. George, was acted on a stage in an open field at Bassingborne, in Cambridgeshire, at which were a minstrel and three waits hired from Cambridge, with a property-man and a painter.[c]

It appears from the *Earl of Northumberland's Household Book*, (1512,) that the children of his chapel performed Mysteries during the twelve days of Christmas, and at Easter, under the direction of his Master of the revels. Bishop Percy cites several particulars of the regulated sums payable to 'parsones' and others for these performances. The exhibiting scripture dramas on the great festivals entered into the regular establishment, and formed part of the domestic regulations of our ancient nobility; and what is more remarkable, it was as much the business of the chaplain in those days to compose Plays for the family, as it is now for him to make sermons.[d]

At London, in the year 1556, the Passion of Christ was performed at the Grey Friars before the Lord Mayor, the privy-council, and many great estates of the realm. In 1577, the same play was performed at the same place, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France; and in that year, the holiday of St. Olave, the patron of the church in Silver Street dedicated to that saint, being celebrated with great solemnity, at eight o'clock at night, a play of the miraculous life of St. Olave, was performed for four hours, and concluded with many religious plays. The acting of religious plays experienced

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[a] Warton, vol. ii. p. 200.

[b] Ibid. p. 239.

[c] Antiq. Repert. and Warton, vol. iii. p. 326.

[d] Percy's Reliques, vol. i. p. 139.

interruption during the reign of Elizabeth, and occasionally at other periods. Malone thinks that the last Mystery represented in England was that of Christ's Passion, in the reign of king James I. Prynne relates that it was performed at Ely House, in Holborn, when Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, lay there, on Good Friday, at night, and that thousands were present.[a]

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[a] Prynne mentions this performance in his *Histrio-mastix, the Player's scourge, or Actor's Tragedy*, 4to. 1633, p. 117, *n*.

For this work Prynne was pilloried and fined on a star-chamber prosecution. Some fourteen years afterwards there came out a tract entitled, 'MR. WILLIAM PRYNNE, *his Defence of Stage Plays, or a* RETRACTATION *of a former book of his called* HISTRIO-MASTIX, 1649,' four leaves, 4to. This piece begins with, 'Whereas this Tyrannicall abominable lewd schismaticall hæretical Army, are bent in a wilfull and forcible way to destroy all Lawfull Government;' it recites the violence Prynne endured by arrest, 'for no offence but onely endeavouring to discharge my conscience, which is a thing I shall always do, without fearing any man, any arm of flesh, any Potentacie, Prelacy, superintendency, or power terrestriall or internall:' then it proceeds to say, that 'now there is another fresh occasion which hath incited my just indignation against this wicked and Tyrannical Army; they did lately in a most inhumane, cruell, rough, and barbarous manner take away the poor Players from their Houses, being there met to discharge the duty of their callings.' After inveighing against this proceeding it adds, 'But now I know what the malicious, ill-spoken, clamorous and obstreperous people will object against me; namely, That I did once write a book against Stage-plays called *Histrio-mastix*, for which I underwent a cruel censure in the Starchamber. I confesse it is true, I did once so, but it was when I had not so clear a light as now I have; and it is no disparagement for any man to alter his judgement upon better information; besides it was done long ago, and when the king (whose virtues I did not then so perfectly understand,) governed without any controul, which was the time that I took to shew my conscience and courage, to oppose that power which was the highest.' After more of the same kind, it says, 'But that Playes are lawfull things, and are to be allowed as recreation for honest men, I need not quote many authors to prove it;' and then twelve are quoted; and it being objected that actors personated females, it declares, that 'men's putting on of women's apparel is not against the Scripture in a plain and ordinary sence.' Finally, 'I may conclude that good Playes which are not profane, lewd, bad, blasphemous, or ungodly, may be acted; and that this wicked and Tyrannical Army ought not to hinder, to impede, let, prohibit, or forbid the acting of them; which I dare maintain to all the world; for I was never afrayed to suffer in a good cause.' With these words the pamphlet ends, but not the story. For after this publication a large posting bill, dated 'From the King's Head

In Cornwall they had interludes in the Cornish language from scripture history. These were called the *Guary Miracle plays*, and were sometimes performed in the open fields, at the bottom of earthen amphitheatres, the people standing around on the inclined plane, which was usually forty or fifty feet diameter. The players did not learn their parts, but were followed by a prompter, called the ordinary, with the book in his hand. Long after the *mysteries* had ceased elsewhere, and the regular stage been established, they were exhibited in Cornwall to the country people, who flocked from all sides to hear and see the devils and devices that were provided to delight the eye, as well as the ear. Two MSS. in the Bodleian Library contain the Cornish Plays of the Deluge, the Passion, and the Resurrection.[a]

According to Strutt, when mysteries were the only plays, the stage consisted of three platforms, one above another. On the uppermost sat God the Father, surrounded by his angels; on the second the glorified saints, and on the last and lowest, men who had not yet passed from this life. On one side of the lowest platform was the resemblance of a dark pitchy cavern, from whence issued the appearance of fire and flames; and when it was necessary, the audience was treated with hideous yellings and noises in imitation of the howlings and cries of wretched souls tormented by relentless demons. From this yawning cave the devils themselves constantly ascended to delight, and to instruct the spectators. The reader will doubtless recollect that a theatrical Hell has been mentioned before;[b] an old author, whose descrip-

in the Strand,' signed 'William Prynne,' and headed 'THE VINDICATION,' recites the title of the pamphlet, and declares it to be a *mere forgery* and *imposture*.' The style of the 'RETRACTATION,' so thoroughly imitates Prynne's that nothing in it but the stultification of his general opinions could occasion a doubt of its genuineness; and the imposition might still pass pretty current if one of Prynne's bills were not in existence. A copy of this fierce denial is in Mr. J. P. Collier's *Poetical Decameron*, vol. ii. p. 322. As Mr. Collier says of the Pseudo-Prynne, that it is a *rarity* which he had never seen, I thought an extract from such a curiosity worth a corner.

[a] Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 195. Borlase's Nat. Hist. Cornwall, p. 295. Carew's Cornwall, p. 71.

[b] In the account of the mystery of Veximiel, p. 173, *ante*.

tion of Hell is similar, had probably seen it exhibited on the ecclesiastical stage:—

> An hideous hole all vaste, withouten shape,
> Of endlesse depth, orewhelm'd with ragged stone,
> With ougly mouth, and griesly iawes doth gape,
> And to our sight confounds itselfe in one.[a]

The Mysteries were usually acted in churches or chapels upon temporary scaffolds: when enough performers could not be found among the clergy, the churchwardens employed secular players, and sometimes borrowed dresses from other parishes.[b]

'*The Pageant of the Company of Sheremen and Taylors in Coventry, as performed by them on the Festival of Corpus Christi,*' is a manuscript belonging to the Corporation of Coventry, bearing the following inscription: 'Thys matter *newly correcte*' be Robart Croo, the xiiijth. day of Marche, fenysschid in the yere of owre lord god M CCCCC & xxxiiijth.' A Coventry gentleman, of curious research in ancient lore, who was allowed to transcribe it, printed '*twelve* copies, for the purpose of bringing it more immediately to the knowledge of his antiquarian friends.'[c] Its events are from the Annunciation, to the murder of the Innocents. Isaiah speaks the Prologue, and prophesies the incarnation. Joseph's Jealousy being a conspicuous scene, a portion is extracted for comparison with the same subject in *Mystery* V.

JOSEPH, perceiving the Virgin's pregnancy, taxes her with inconstancy, in his absence; and inquires who had been with her. She asserts her innocence, and affirms that she had seen no one, but the heavenly messenger.

Josoff.—Sey not soo, womon, for schame ley be,
Ye be with chyld, soo wondurs grett,
Ye nede no more th'r of to tret
Agense all right;
Forsothe thys chylde, dame, ys nof myne;
Alas! that eyv' with myn yne,
I suld see this syght.

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[a] Mirrour for Magistrates—Sackvil's Induction. [b] Strutt's Sports, p. 144.

[c] Printed at Coventry, 1817, 22 leaves, 4to. In the summer of 1819, I was obligingly indulged with the loan of a copy, and permitted extracts.

Tell me, womon, whose ys this chyld?
Mare.—None but youris, husebond soo myld,
And thatt schalbe seyne.
Josoff.—But myne, allas! alas! why sey ye soo?
Wele awey, womon; now may I goo
Be gyld, as many a nothur ys.
Mare.—Na, truly sir, ye be not be gylde,
Nor yet, with spott of syn, I am no defylde;
Trust yt well huse bonde.
Josoff.—Huse bond! in feythe, and that acold!
A weylle awey, Josoff! as thow ar' olde,
Lyke a fole, now ma I stand and truse.
But in feyth, mare, th'u art in syn,
Soo moche ase I have cheyrischyd the dame, and all thei kyn,
Be hynd my bake to s've me thus.
All olde men Insampull take be me,
How I am be gylid, here may you see,
To wed soo yong a chyld.
Now fare well, Mare, I leyve the here alone,
Worthe the dam and thy warkis ycheone;
For I woll noo more be gylid be, for frynd nor fooe.
Now of this ded I am soo dull,
And off my lyff I am so full, no farthur ma I goo.

An Angel, whose explanation removes Joseph's jealousy, desires him to comfort Mary, for,

——— a cleyne meydin ys sche
Sche hath conseyved with owt any trayne
The seycond p'son in trenete.

The homely adoration of the infant by the Shepherds is prettily told. The first Shepherd gives his pipe to him, and says,

I have nothyng to present with thi chylde
But my pype; hold! hold! take yt in thy hond,
Where in moche pleysure that I have fond.

The second Shepherd presents his hat—

Holde! take thow, here, my hatt on thy hedde,
And now, off won thyng, thow art well sped.

The third Shepherd offers his gloves to him—

Have here my myttens, to pytt en thi hondis,
Other treysure have I none to present the with.[a]

With reference to theatrical performances by the clergy, it is affirmed in the *Beehive of the Romish Church*, that 'Christ hath not done anie thing in his death and passion, but they do plaie and counterfeite the same after him, so trimlie and livelie, that no plaier nor juggler is able to doe it better. Yea, do we not see

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[a] On closing the notice of the Coventry Mysteries, it may be observed, that there can be no doubt that Adam and Eve appeared on the stage naked. In the second Pageant of the Coventry MS. at the British Museum, Eve on being seduced by the serpent, induces Adam to taste the forbidden fruit. He immediately perceives their nakedness, and says to her,

Se us nakyd be for & be hynde,
* * * *
Woman ley this leff on thi pryvyte
And with this leff I shall hyde me.

Warton observes, (vol. i. p. 244.) 'That this extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous company of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis.' They are also naked in the Chester Mystery, and clothe themselves in the same way.

'The present age rejects as gross and indelicate those free compositions which our ancestors not only countenanced but admired. Yet, in fact, the morals of our forefathers were as strict and perhaps purer and sounder than our own; and we have been taught to look up to them as genuine models of the honest, incorruptible character of Englishmen. They were strangers indeed to delicacy of taste; they beheld the broad and unpruned delineations of nature, and thought no harm: while we, on the most distant approach to freedom of thought and expression, turn away in disgust, and vehemently express our displeasure. Human nature is ever the same, but society is always progressive, and at every stage of refinement the passions require stricter control; not because they are more violent, but because the circumstances which excite them are multiplied. If we trace back the progress of society to its primitive state, we shall find that the innocence of mankind is in an inverse ratio to their advancement in knowledge.'—*Cromek's Remains*, p. 70.

likewise, that uppon good Friday they haue a Crucifixe, either of wood, or of stone, which they laie downe softlie vpon the ground, that euerie bodie, may come *creeping* to it, vpon handes and knees, and so kisse the feet of it, as men are accustomed to doe to the Pope of Rome: And then they put him in a graue, till Easter: at which time they take him uppe againe, and sing *Resurrexit, non est hic, Alleluia:* He is risen, he is not here, God be thanked. Yea, and in some places, they *make the graue* in a hie place in the church where men must goe up manie steppes, which are decked with blacke cloth from aboue to beneath, and vpon euery steppe standeth a siluer candlesticke with a waxe candle burning in it, and there doe walke souldiours in harnesse, as bright as Saint George, which keepe the graue, till the priests come and take him vp: and then commeth sodenlie a flash of fire, wherwith they are all afraid and fall downe: and then vpstartes the man, and they begin to sing *Alleluia,* on all hands, and then the clock striketh eleuen. Then a gaine vpon Whitsunday they begin to play a new Enterlude, for then they send downe a Doue out of an Owles nest, deuised in the roof of the church: but first they cast out rosin and gunpouder, w^t. wilde fire, to make the children afraid, and that must needes be the holie ghost, which commeth with thunder and lightening. Likewise vpon Ascension day, they pull Christ vp on hie w^t. ropes aboue the clouds, by a vice deuised in the roofe of the church, and they hale him vp, as if they would pull him vp to the gallowes: and there stande the poore Priests, and looke so pitifully after their God, as a dogge for his dinner. In summe a man doeth often spende a pennie or two to see *a play of Robin hood,* or a Morisse daunse, which were a greate deale better bestowed vppon these apishe toies of these good Priests, which counterfeite all these matters so handsomelie, that it will do a man as much good to see them, as in frostie weather to goe naked. I speake not of their perambulations, processions, and going about the towne, cariing their crucefixes alongst the streetes, and there play and counterfeite the whole passion, so trimlie with all the seuen sorrowes of our Lady,

as though it had been nothing else but a simple and plain Enterlude."[a]

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[a] Beehive of the Romish Church, p. 201.

The quotation from this curious work is illustrated by the following notices:—1. *Creeping to the Cross.*—It is related in *Davies's Rites of the Cathedral of Durham*, (8vo. 1672, p. 51.) that in that cathedral, over our Lady of Bolton's altar, there was a marvellous, lively, and beautiful image of the picture of our lady, called the Lady of Bolton, which picture was made to open with *gimmes*, (or linked fastenings) from the breast downward; and within the said image was wrought and pictured the image of our Saviour marvellously finely gilt, holding up his hands, and holding betwixt his hands a large fair Crucifix of Christ, all of gold; the which Crucifix was to be taken forth every Good Friday, and *every man did creep unto it that was in the church* at that time; and afterwards it was hung up again within the said image; and every principal day the said image was opened, that every man might see pictured within her, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, most curiously and finely gilt; and both the sides within her were very finely varnished with green varnish, and flowers of gold, which was a goodly sight for all the beholders thereof.—It is further stated, by the same author, (p. 21.) that within that cathedral, upon Good Friday, there was marvellous solemn service, in which service time, after the *Passion* was sung, two of the ancient monks took a goodly large crucifix, all of gold, of the picture of our Saviour Christ nailed upon the Cross, laying it upon a velvet cushion, having St. Cuthbert's arms upon it, all embroidered with gold, bringing it betwixt them upon the cushion to the lowest greeses, or steps in the quire, and there betwixt them did hold the said picture of our Saviour, sitting on either side of it. And then one of the said monks did rise, and went a pretty space from it, and setting himself upon his knees with his shoes put off, very reverently he *crept upon his knees* unto the said cross, and most reverently did kiss it; and after him the other monk did so likewise, and then they sate down on either side of the said cross, holding it betwixt them. Afterward, the prior came forth of his stall, and did sit him down upon his knees with his shoes off in like sort, and did *creep* also unto the said cross, and all the monks after him, one after another in the same manner and order; in the mean time, the whole quire singing a hymn. The service being ended, the said two monks carried the cross to the *sepulchre* with great reverence.—There are some accounts of creeping to the cross in *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, (vol. i. p. 129.). He mentions, from an ancient Ceremonial of the kings of England, that on Good Friday, the usher was to lay a carpet for the king to *creep* to the cross upon, and that the queen and her ladies were also to *creep*.

2. *Making of the Sepulchre* was a practice founded upon ancient tradition, that the second coming of Christ would be on Easter-eve, and therefore Jerome conceived that the people should await in the church until midnight for Christ's

This citation from the *Bee-hive* is in part exemplified by a translation, printed by Copland, from an ancient novel in Dutch,

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appearance. The making of the sepulchre in the church, and watching it, remained in England till the reformation. *Davies's* account of it is worth notice. In the abbey church of Durham, there was very solemn service upon Easter-day, betwixt three and four o'clock in the morning, in honour of the *Resurrection;* when two of the eldest monks of the quire came to the *Sepulchre,* set up upon Good Friday after the Passion, all covered with red velvet, and embroidered with gold, and then did cense it, either of the monks with a pair of silver censers, sitting on their knees before the sepulchre. Then they both rising, came to the sepulchre, out of which, with great reverence, they took a marvellous beautiful image of our Saviour, representing the *Resurrection* with a cross in his hand, in the breast whereof was inclosed, in most bright crystal, the holy Sacrament of the altar, through the which crystal the blessed Host was conspicuous to the beholders. Then after the elevation of the said picture, carried by the said two monks, upon a fair velvet cushion all embroidered, singing the anthem of *Christus resurgens,* they brought it to the high altar setting it on the midst thereof, the two monks kneeling before the altar, and censing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire were singing the aforesaid anthem; which anthem being ended, the two monks took up the cushion and picture from the altar, supporting it betwixt them, and proceeding in procession from the high altar to the south quire door, where there were four ancient gentlemen belonging to the quire, appointed to attend their coming, holding up a most rich canopy of purple velvet, tasselled round about with red silk, and a goodly gold fringe; and at every corner of the canopy did stand one of these ancient gentlemen, to bear it over the said images with the holy sacrament carried by the two monks round about the church, the whole quire waiting upon it with goodly torches, and great store of other lights; all singing, rejoicing, and praying to God most devoutly till they came to the high altar again; upon which they placed the said image, there to remain till ascension day.

3. *The Play of Robin Hood* was a performance in the May games, in which a person, representing that bold outlaw, presided as Lord of the May, attended by Maid Marian, his faithful mistress, as Lady of the May, and by persons appropriately dressed, denominated Robin Hood's men. Bishop Latimer complains, in one of his Sermons, that coming to preach in a certain town on a holiday, he found the church-door locked, and was told the parish could not hear him that day, for they were gone to gather for Robin Hood, it being Robin Hood's day. The good Bishop says, that for all his rochet, he was fain to give place to Robin Hood. King Henry VIII. was entertained with a May game at Shooter's-hill by the officers of his guards, amounting to two hundred, clothed in green, headed by one who personated Robin Hood. He met the

entitled, 'a merry Jest of a man that was called Howleglas,' (in the original *Ulenspiegle*).[a] Bishop Percy cites it to the following effect. OWLGLASS, whose waggish tricks are the subject of this work, after many adventures, comes to live with a priest who makes him his parish clerk. This priest is described as keeping a concubine, who had but one eye, to whom Owlglass owed a grudge for revealing his rogueries to his master. At Easter, when the *Resurrection* was to be played to the illiterate people, the priest took his concubine and put her in the sepulchre to personate an angel. Upon this, Owlglass provided three of the simplest persons in the town to play the three Maries; the parson himself was to play Christ with a banner in his hand. Owlglass then said to his three simple performers, when the angel inquires whom you seek, you are to say the parson's concubine with one eye. At the proper part of the representation the Angel duly inquired whom they sought, who answered as the waggish parish clerk taught them, 'The priest's concubine with one eye.' The woman hearing this, appears to have suspected Owlglass, for, rising from the grave, she aimed a blow at his cheek, which missed him, and fell upon one of the men personating the three Maries, who immediately returning it, she seized him by the hair. The man's wife ran up to assist her husband; the priest himself threw down his banner to help his

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king as he was taking his morning ride, attended by the queen, and nobility of both sexes, and inviting his majesty to see how he and his companions lived, the royal train was forthwith conducted by the archers, blowing their horns, to a green wood under the hill, and ushered into an arbour of boughs, formed into chambers covered with flowers and sweet herbs, where Robin Hood excusing the want of more delicate refreshment said to the king, 'Sir, we outlaws, usually breakfast upon venison, and have no other food to you;' and the king and queen sat down, and were served with venison and wine. They were well pleased with their entertainment, and on their departure were met by two ladies, splendidly apparelled, as the Lady May and the Lady Flora, riding in a rich open chariot, who, saluting the king with divers goodly songs, brought him to Greenwich. A *Play of Robin Hood* for the May Games, is in Dodsley's collection.—*Strutt's Sports*, p. 314.

[a] Percy's Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 132.

concubine; a general conflict ensued; and Owlglass seeing them all together by the ears in the body of the church, went his way from the village and returned no more.[a] Bishop Percy thinks the general name of Mysteries was applied to these performances from the mysterious subjects that were frequently chosen for representation, such as the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ, &c.

Warton quotes from Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary, written about the year 1570, that during the days of ceremonial religion, the priests at Witney, in Oxfordshire, used to exhibit a puppet-show of *The Resurrection*, &c. The puppets represented Christ, Mary, and other personages; one of them in the character of a waking watchman, espying Christ to arise, made a continual noise, like the sound caused by the meeting of two sticks, and was therefore commonly called Jack Snacker of Wytney. Lambarde, when a child, saw the like toy in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on the feast of Whitsuntide; where the Descent of the Holy Ghost was performed by a white pigeon being let to fly out of a hole in the midst of the roof of the great isle. The pigeon with a long censer, which came down from the same place almost to the ground, was swung up and down at such a length, that it reached with one sweep almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the choir stairs; the censer breathing out over the whole church and the assembled multitude a most pleasant perfume from the sweet things that burnt within it. Lambarde says that the like *dumb-shows* were used every where, to garnish sundry parts of the church service; with spectacles of the nativity, passion, and ascension.

After the Reformation, king Edward VI. wrote a comedy called *the Whore of Babylon*. An incredible number of religious

[a] There is a copy of *Howleglas* in the British Museum. Bishop Percy, who appears to have used Garrick's copy, remarks that 'Howleglas is said in the preface to have died in M,cccc,l: at the end of the book, in M,ccc,l.'

When a boy I read the Adventures of *Uliespiegel*, or the *German Rogue*, in a translation, printed in octavo, and I should think, from what I recollect of its appearance, about 1680. A copy has not fallen in my way since.

comedies and tragi-comedies were produced about this time. One was entitled, *Jesus the true Messiah*, a comedy; another, *the New German Ass of Balaam*; a third, *the Calvinistic Postilion*; and so on. Mysteries of this kind were composed by the once celebrated John Bale, who having been a catholic of the Carmelite monastery at Norwich, became a student at Oxford, renounced the tenets of Rome, and, 'never more to serve so execrable a beast, I took,' says he, 'to wife, the faithful Dorothy in obedience to that divine command, Let him that cannot contain, marry.' He obtained church preferment, was successively Bishop of Ossory, and Archbishop of Dublin, with a prebendal stall at Canterbury, where he died in 1563. One of this protestant prelate's Mysteries, written in 1538, to vindicate the doctrine of grace against such as held the doctrine of free will and the merit of works, is entitled, *a Tragedy or Enterlude, manyfestyng the chefe promyses of God unto man*, &c.; the characters are, God, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, and John the Baptist; and at the end of each act is a kind of chorus which was performed with voices and instruments.[a]

In 1573 was printed 'a new Enterlude no less wittie than pleasant, entitled, *New Custom*,' written by another hand, to vindicate and promote the Reformation against 'Old Custom.' The characters are allegorical, and discuss the comparative merits of the doctrine held by the two churches with more earnestness than temper:—

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[a] Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. i. Baker's Biog. Dramat. by Jones, vol. i. Some of Archbishop Bale's other Mysteries are, 1st. A brief comedy or interlude of John Baptist's preaching. 2nd, A brief comedy or interlude of Christ's temptation by Satan. 3rd, Of Christ when he was twelve years old, one comedy. 4th, Of Baptism and Temptation, two comedies. 5th, Of Lazarus raised from the Dead, one comedy. 6th, Of the Councils of Bishops, one comedy. 7th, Of Simon the Leper, one comedy. 8th, Of the Lord's Supper, and washing the feet, one comedy. 9th, Of the Passion of Christ, two comedies. 10th, Of the sepulture and resurrection, two comedies, &c.

Light of the Gospel—(a Minister.)
O impe of Antechrist, and seed of the devyll!
Borne to all wickedenesse, and nusled in all evil.

Perverse Doctrine—(an old Popish Priest.)
Nay, thou stinking heretike, art thou there in deed?
According to thy naughtines thou must look for speed.

New Custome—(another Minister.)
Godde's holie woorde in no wise can be heresie,
Though so you terme it never so falsly.

Perverse Doctrine.
Yee precious whoreson, art thou there too?
I think yon have pretended some harme mee to doo.
Helpe, Helpe, I say, let mee be gone at once,
Else I will smite thee in the face by Godde's bones.

New Custome.
You must be contented a little season to stay,
Light of the Gospell, for your profite, hath some thing to say.[a]

'New Custom,' however, cannot be properly called a Mystery, but a Morality. Theatrically considered, Mysteries are dramatic representations of religious subjects from the Old or New Testament, or Apocryphal story, or the lives of saints. Moralities are dramatic allegories, in which the characters personify certain vices or virtues, with the intent to enforce some moral or religious principle. Moralities were of later origin than Mysteries, but they existed together, and sometimes each partook of the nature of the other. A dramatic piece in MS. entitled the '*Castle of Good Preservance*,' formerly belonging to the late Dr. Cox Macro, is of this mixed character. In a sort of stage direction written on the first leaf, the amanuensis has drawn a diagram of two circles, one within the other; in the space between these two circles he has written in words, filling the circumference, 'this is the watyr a bowte the place, if any dyche may be mad it schal be pleyed; or ellys that it be strongely barryd al a bowt; and lete nowth ov'r many *stytelerys* be w't inne the plase.' On the outside of the 'dyche' or circle at five several stations, are written the following words denoting the relative positions of five scaffolds, and the characters that play, namely, 'Sowth, *Caro*

[a] Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. i. p. 74.

Skafold—West, *Mundus* Skaffold—Northe, *Belyal* Skaffold—Northest, *Coveytyse* Skaffold—Est, *Deus* Skafold.' In the middle of the space surrounded by the double circle denoting the 'dyche' is drawn the castle, with a sort of bench or table below it, and beneath that is written:—'here mankynde is bed schal be under the castel, and there schal the sowle lye, under the bed, tyl he schal ryse and playe.' There are other directions to the players in these words:—'the iii dowters schul be clad i' metelys: mercy with rythwysnesse i' red altogedyr, Trewethe in sad grene, and pes al in blake; and the'i schal pleye in the plaie al to gedyr, tyl they bringe up the sowle—and he that shal pley belyal, loke that he have gune powd'r, bren'y'g in pypys i' h's hands, and i' h's eis, and i' h's * * * whane he gothe to batayle.'

Though there is no existing memorial of the representation of Mysteries in England since the latter end of the sixteenth century, yet, for some time after the Reformation, Mysteries and Moralities continued to be written expressly to promote and secure the new order of things. They lashed the catholics unsparingly, who do not appear to have at all ventured to retort in the same way, except in the reign of Henry VIII. by a dramatic piece, entitled, *Every Man*, 'in manner of a moralle play,'[a] designed to reconcile the people to the doctrines and worship of the ancient church. This effort was fruitless, for notwithstanding that after the death of Henry, who prohibited the performance of Mysteries, their representation was restored by Mary, yet no attempts were made by such means, to stay the fall of the papal power in England. It had received a mortal shock from the establishment of the printing press,[b] which enabled the people to read the New Tes-

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[a] 'Imprynted at London in Poule's Church Yard, by me John Skot,' 4to.

[b] 'In 1474, was this art brought into England, by William Caxton, a native, and a printing press set up by him at Westminster. These proceedings for the advancement of learning and knowledge, especially in divine matters, alarmed the ignorant and illiterate monks.—The vicar of Croydon expressed himself to the following purpose in a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross about this time; *We must root out printing, or printing will root out us.*'—*Lewis's Hist. of Eng. Transl.* p. 55.

ment for themselves; and the chief trace that the old Hierarchy left of its dramatic existence was the acting of plays in the churches, which was finally ordered to be discontinued by a proclamation of Henry VIII. in 1542; but their performance on Sundays was continued by the choristers of St. Paul's cathedral and the chapel royal, so late even as the reign of Charles the First.

The difficulty of wholly suppressing an ancient usage is remarkably evinced by examples of recent date.

The Tatler of May 14, 1709, cites a letter from Bath, describing the rivalry of Prudentia and Florimel, two ladies at that watering place. Florimel bespoke the play of Alexander the Great, to be acted by the company of strollers on Thursday evening, and the letter-writer accepted the lady's invitation to be of her party; but he says, 'Prudentia had counter-plotted us, and had bespoke on the same evening, the poppet-show of the *Creation of the World.* She had engaged every body to be there; and to turn our leader into ridicule, had secretly let them know that the poppet *Eve* was made the most like Florimel that ever was seen. On Thursday morning the poppet drummer, Adam and Eve, and several others that lived before the flood, passed through the streets on horseback to invite us all to the pastime, and the representation of such things as we all know to be true; and Mr. Mayor was so wise as to prefer these innocent people, the poppets, who he said were to represent Christians, before the wicked players who were to show Alexander an heathen philosopher. When we came to *Noah*'s Flood in the show, *Punch* and his wife were introduced dancing in the ark. Old Mrs. Petulant desired both her daughters to mind the moral; then whispered to Mrs. Mayoress, "This is very proper for young people to see." Punch at the end of the play made Madam Prudentia a bow, and was very civil to the whole company, making bows till his buttons touched the ground.' Sir Richard Steele in the Spectator of March 16, 1711, intimates that Powell, the puppet-show man, exhibited religious subjects with his puppets, under the little piazza in Covent Garden; and talks of 'his next opera of *Susannah,* or Innocence, betrayed which will be exhibited next week with a pair of new *Elders.*'

Strutt quotes a puppet-showman's bill, in the reign of Anne, at the British Museum, which announces scriptural subjects as follows: 'At Crawley's Booth, over against the Crown Tavern, in Smithfield, during the time of *Bartholomew Fair*, will be presented a little opera, called *the Old Creation of the World*, yet newly revived; with the addition of *Noah's Flood*; also several fountains playing water during the time of the play. The last scene does present Noah and his family coming out of the ark, with all the beasts two by two, and all the fowls of the air seen in a prospect sitting upon trees; likewise over the ark is seen the sun rising in a glorious manner: moreover a multitude of angels will be seen in a double rank, which presents a double prospect, one for the sun, the other for a palace, where will be seen *six angels ringing of bells*. Likewise machines descend from above, double and treble, with *Dives rising out of hell, and Lazarus seen in Abraham's bosom*, besides several figures dancing jiggs, sarabands, and country dances, to the admiration of the spectators; with the merry conceits of *Squire Punch, and Sir John Spendall*.'

Perhaps the adventures of *Punch* in the common puppet-show, gave rise to dramatic performances of greater celebrity. Punch always comes up gay, heedless, and very well satisfied with himself. He is a sensual, dissolute, hardened character, who beats his wife and child, has a thorough contempt for moral reputation, disregards the advice of the priest, knocks him down, dances with his female associates, is a little frightened by a spectre, becomes as bad as ever, does not fear the devil, fights with him, is conquered, and finally carried off to hell. The adventures of *Don Juan, or the Libertine Destroyed*, of the theatres, and the *Don Giovanni* of the Italian opera, seem but an amplified representation of the adventures of *Punch*, the libertine destroyed, in the puppet-show of the streets.

The English puppet-show was formerly called a *motion*. Shakspeare mentions the performance of *Mysteries* by puppets; his Autolycus frequented wakes, fairs, and bear-baitings, and 'compassed a *motion* of the *Prodigal Son*.' On a Twelfth

night, in 1818, a man, making the usual Christmas cry, of '*Gallantee show*,' was called in to exhibit his performances for the amusement of my young folks and their companions. Most unexpectedly, he 'compassed a *motion* of the *Prodigal Son*;' by dancing his transparencies between the magnifying glass and candle of a magic lanthorn, the coloured figures greatly enlarged, were reflected on a sheet spread against the wall of a darkened room. The prodigal son was represented carousing with his companions at the Swan Inn, at Stratford; while the landlady in the bar, on every fresh call, was seen to score double. There was also *Noah's Ark*, with '*Pull Devil, Pull Baker*,' or the just judgment upon a baker who sold bread short of weight; and was carried to hell in his own basket. The reader will bear in mind, that this was not a *motion* in the dramatic sense of the word, but a puppet-*like* exhibition of a Mystery, with discrepancies of the same character as those which peculiarized the Mysteries of five centuries ago. The Gallantee-showman narrated with astonishing gravity the incidents of every fresh scene, while his companion in the room played country-dances and other tunes on the street organ, during the whole of the performance. The manager informed me that his show had been the same during many years, and, in truth, it was unvariable; for his entire property consisted of but this one set of glasses, and his magic lanthorn. I failed in an endeavour to make him comprehend that its propriety could be doubted of: it was the first time that he had heard of the possibility of objection to an entertainment which his audiences witnessed every night with uncommon and unbounded applause. Expressing a hope that I would command his company at a future time, he put his card into my hand, inscribed, 'The *Royal Gallantee Show*, provided by Jos. Leverge, 7, Ely Court, Holborn Hill:' the very spot whereon the last theatrical representation of a Mystery, the play of *Christ's Passion*, is recorded to have been witnessed in England.

X. PAGEANTS.

'Not a *rack* behind.' *Shakspeare.*

WARTON thinks that the Pageants, which on civil occasions derived great part of their decorations and actors from historical fact, and consequently made profane characters the subject of public exhibition, dictated ideas of a regular drama much sooner than the Mysteries.[a] Whether this were so or not, the Pageants sometimes partook of the nature of Mysteries, and were of a mixed character. This is particularly exemplified in the prints to the descriptive volume of the great Haerlem show, before mentioned.[b] There were on that occasion personifications of Vanity, Wisdom, War, Cruelty, Faith, Hope, Charity, Learning, Pride, Poverty, Blindness, Drunkenness, Evil Conscience, Wickedness, Despair, Fame, Bad Report, Envy, Hypocrisy, Hunger, Thirst, Pain: personations of Christ, Judas, Ananias, Sapphira, Zaccheus, Cornelius, Tabitha, Tobias, Midas, Mercury, Soldiers, Murderers, Merchants, Priests, &c. Riches is there represented as a man richly habited, accompanied by Covetousness, a female with a high ruff open at the neck in front, from whence springs a large branch that falls horizontally over her shoulder, to Achan, Ahab, and Judas, who follow in the procession, plucking the fruit from the bough. In another of these prints, Christ barefooted and in a close vest, precedes a penitent-looking man, and grasps a sword in his right hand which he turns round and points at the devil, who holds a prong,[c] and is at the man's

[a] Warton, vol. ii. p. 202. [b] Page 141, *ante*.

[c] This is the *prong*, a fac simile of that in Hearne's print, p. 138, *ante*.

heels with Hell and Death following. Hell is denoted by a black monk-like figure walking without a head, flame and smoke issuing forth at the top instead; Death, gaunt and naked, holds a large dart; the Devil has a human face with horns, and a blunt tail, rather thickened at the end, trailing on the ground like a rope. A procession in one of these plates represents the story of Hatto, Bishop of Mentz, who, in order that a scarcity might the sooner cease, assembled the poor that were suffering by famine, in a barn, and caused them to be burnt alive, saying, that poor people were like mice, good for nothing but to devour corn; wherefore God Almighty raised up an army of mice to do judgment upon him, from whom he escaped to a tower in the middle of the Rhine, whither the mice swam, and miserably devoured him. This story was told in the pageant by a wooden building apparently on fire; people enclosed within, put their hands through the bars of the window imploring relief; a soldier with a lighted torch in one hand, stabs at them with a dagger grasped in the other; the archbishop, robed, mitred, and crosiered, follows dignifiedly; while Avarice infuses her thoughts into his ear with a pair of bellows; lastly, a dart, from which mice are hung by the back, is uplifted against him by death.[a]

Strutt remarks that Pageants, though commonly exhibited in the great towns and cities of England on solemn and joyful occasions, were more frequent in London, on account of its being the theatre for the entertainment of foreign monarchs, and for the procession of our own kings and queens to their coronation, or on their return from abroad; besides which, there were the ceremonials incident at stated periods, such as the setting of the midsummer watch, and the Lord Mayor's Show. Accordingly a considerable number of different artificers were kept at the city's expense to furnish the machinery for the Pageants, and to decorate them; and a great part of Leaden Hall was anciently appropriated to painting and depositing them. The fronts of the

[a] The story is agreeably versified, by Mr. Southey, in the ballad of *God's Judgment on a Bishop.—Minor Poems*, 1815, vol. iii. p. 66.

houses in the streets through which the processions passed, were covered with rich adornments of tapestry, arras, and cloth of gold; the chief magistrates and most opulent citizens usually appeared on horseback in sumptuous habits, and joined the cavalcade, while the ringing of bells, the sound of music from various quarters, and the shouts of the populace, nearly stunned the ears of the spectators. At certain distances, in places appointed for the purpose, the Pageants were erected, which were temporary buildings representing castles, palaces, gardens, rocks or forests, as the occasion required, where nymphs, fauns, satyrs, gods, goddesses, angels, and devils, appeared in company with giants, savages, dragons, saints, knights, buffoons, and dwarfs, surrounded by minstrels and choristers; the heathen mythology, the legends of chivalry, and Christian divinity, were ridiculously jumbled together without meaning; and the exhibitions usually concluded with dull pedantic harangues exceedingly tedious, and replete with the grossest adulation.[a] Warton is of opinion that it was not until about the reign of Henry VI. that the performers in the Pageants began to recite. From a few notices some estimate may be formed of the consequence in which they were held, and the nature of the exhibition.

Strype says, that Pageants were exhibited in London when Queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation in 1236,[b] and again in 1298, on occasion of the victory obtained by *Edward* I. over the Scots.[c] There were Pageants in 1357, when Edward the black prince brought John king of France prisoner through the city; in 1392, when Richard II. passed through London after the citizens, by submission, and the queen's intercession, had obtained the restoration of their charter; and again, in 1415, upon the entry of Henry V. after the battle of Agincourt.[d]

In 1431, when Henry VI. entered Paris as king of France, he

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[a] Strutt's Sports, Introd. p. xxiii.

[b] Glory of Regality, by Mr. Arthur Taylor, p. 251. [c] Ibid. p. 236.

[d] Jones's Biogr. Dram. art. Pageant.

was met there by the national and municipal authorities, accompanied by the nine worthies on horseback richly armed.[a]

In 1445, on the same king's marriage with queen Margaret, when she approached London, the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and the crafts, wearing their respective cognizances, went forth to meet her, and brought her in great state through the city, where were sumptuous and costly pageants, with verses by Lydgate, and resemblance of divers old histories, to the great comfort of the Queen and her attendants.[b]

On the queen of Henry VI. visiting Coventry in 1455, at Bablake in that city, there was a *Jesse* over the gate, showing two speeches made by Isaiah and Jeremiah, in compliment to the Queen, and comparing her to the root of Jesse. Within the gate at the east end of the church, St. Edward, and St. John the Evangelist, were equally polite in their welcome to her majesty. Afterwards the conduit in the 'Smythforde-strete' was right well arrayed, and there were showed the four speeches of the four cardinal virtues. At the cross in the 'Croschepyng' were divers angels censing ahigh on the cross, and wine running out at divers places. Between the cross and the conduit were nine pageants, and in every pageant a speech from one of the nine conquerors. Joshua in his speech told her majesty that if any one dared to do her wrong, he would fight for her: David told her that in dainties he had lived all his life, had slain Goliath, and would obey her as a kind knight for the love of her liege Lord King Henry. The conduit was arrayed with as many virgins as might be thereupon; and there was made a great dragon, and St. Margaret slaying him by miracle, with a suitable speech from her.[c]

On the 24th of April, 1474, Prince Edward coming out of Wales to Coventry, was welcomed by the mayor and commonalty. There was a station with three patriarchs there standing with Jacob's twelve sons, with minstrelsy of harp and dulcimers, and a

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[a] Ibid. p. 267. [b] Ibid. p. 268.

[c] Pageant of the Sheremen and Taylors; Coventry, 1817, 4to.

speech from one of the patriarchs. At the cross were three prophets standing, and upon the cross above were children of Israel singing and casting down sweet cakes and flowers, and four pipes running wine. Upon the conduit was St. George and a king's daughter kneeling before him with a lamb, and the father and mother in a tower above, beholding St. George saving their daughter from the dragon, and the conduit running wine in three places, and minstrelsy of organ playing.[a]

In 1486, king Henry VII. after his coronation, made a progress to the north, with a large attendance of nobility. Three miles from York the king in a gown of cloth of gold furred with ermine, was received by the sheriffs and citizens with their recorder, who welcomed him with a speech. Half a mile without the gate he was received by processions of friars and dignified clergy, who with an immense multitude attended him to the gate of the city, where was a pageant of divers persons and minstrelsy, and thereby stood a crowned king, by name Ebraneus, who had a versified speech. At the hither end of 'House Brigge' was another pageant garnished with ships and boats, and Solomon in his habit royally clothed, had another speech. At the turning into 'Conyeux-street' there was a pageant of the assumption of our Lady, with her speech. At the end of 'Conyeux-street' was another stage with a pageant, wherein stood king David, armed and crowned, with a naked sword in his hand, also making a speech. In divers parts of the city were hung tapestry and other cloths, and galleries from one side of the street over athwart to the other, with casting out of sweet cakes, wafers, and comfits, in quantity like hailstones, for joy and rejoicing at the king's coming.[b]

On the 25th of November next year, 1487, Elizabeth, queen to Henry VII. departed from Greenwich by water, to her coronation. She was attended by the city authorities and companies in their barges richly decorated, but especially a barge called the bachelors' barge was garnished passing all the rest, with a great red dragon spouting flames of fire into the

[a] Pageant of the Sheremen and Taylors. [b] Leland, Collect. vol. iv. p. 185.

Thames, and many other 'gentlemanlie' pageants curiously devised to do her highness sport; and so attended, she was landed at the tower, where she slept. On the morrow her progress through the city to Westminster was magnificently welcomed by singing children, some arrayed like angels, and others like virgins, to sing sweet songs as she passed along.[a]

In 1501, on the Princess Catharine of Spain arriving in London to be married to Prince Arthur, her procession through the city was very magnificent. In the Pageants, which were numerous and superbly furnished, the principal actors or speakers were not only God the Father, St. Catharine, and St. Ursula, but king Alphonsus the astronomer and an ancestor of the Princess, a senator, an angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue. These characters sustained a dialogue.[b]

On St. Paul's day in January 1502, 'James king of Scotts,' by his proxy, Patrick Earl of Bothwell, was affianced to the princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.; on the morning after which there was in the hall a goodly pageant, curiously wrought with 'fenestrallis,' having many lights burning in the same, in manner of a lanthorn, out of which sorted divers sorts of 'moriskes.'[c] The same year, on the arrival of the Princess in Edinburgh, as queen of Scotland, at the entrance of the town was a painted gate with two 'towrells,' and a window in the midst, and at the windows of the 'towrells,' angels singing joyously, and at the middle window was likewise an angel presenting the keys of the town to the queen. In the midst of the town was a 'scarfawst,' where was represented Paris and the three goddesses, with Mercury, who gave him the apple of gold for the fairest. In the 'scarfawst' was represented also the salutation of Gabriel to the Virgyne, and the solemnization of the marriage between the Virgin and Joseph. Further on was another new made gate upon which were the four Virtues: Justice holding in her right hand a naked sword, and the balances in the other, tram-

[a] Glory of Regality, p. 276. [b] Warton, vol. ii. p. 202.
[c] Leland. Collect. vol. iv. p. 263.

pled upon Nero; Fortitude armed, held a shaft, and trod on Holofernes; Temperance held in her hand the bit of 'an horse,' under her feet was Epicurus; Prudence held in her hand a 'Syerge,' and stood upon Sardanapalus. With these figures were tabrets that played merrily, while the noble company past through.[a]

When Charles V. Emperor of Germany visited Henry VIII. in England, his reception in the city of London was graced by splendid pageants, the descriptions of which are still in existence.[b]

The coronation of Ann Boleyn on the 1st of June, 1533, was preceded by a procession through London, after she landed from Greenwich. On this occasion the citizens devised marvellous pageants, in which were Apollo with the muses, and St. Anne, with her children. The three Graces were on Cornhill, and the cardinal Virtues in Fleet-street.[c]

On the 9th of February, 1546-7, king Edward VI. proceeded from the city of London, in great state, to his coronation at Westminster. The crafts and aldermen stood arrayed in order; priests and clerks, with their crosses and censers, censed him as he passed: tapestry, arras, and cloths of gold and silver, were hung on the houses, and rich streamers and banners floated in the air. The procession was very splendid. In various parts of the city were goodly pageants and devices, and therein goodly melody, and eloquent speeches of noble histories. 1. At the conduit in Cornhill, was a pageant garnished with rich arras, on it were a conduit running sweet wine, divers instruments, and goodly singing, and two children pronounced speeches to the king, with a song which contains expressions very like some in the present song of God save the King. 2. On the pageant at the great conduit in Cheap, were persons resembling Valentine and Orson, one clothed with moss and ivy leaves, holding a great club of yew tree, the other as a knight, and they pronounced speeches. The conduit ran wine, and was richly garnished; near it stood four children, as Grace, Nature, Fortune, and Charity, who, one after the other, made speeches.

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[a] Leland. Collect. vol. iv. p. 290.

[b] MS. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. N. vii. 10. [c] Glory of Regality, p. 283.

At a distance round the conduit, stood eight ladies richly apparelled, representing 'Sapience,' and the seven Liberal Sciences. At the end of the conduit, towards Cheap, was a double scaffold, one above the other, hung with cloth and silk, besides rich arras. The upper contained *a heaven*, with the sun and stars, and clouds, that spread abroad, letting down a lesser cloud of white sarcenet, fringed with silk, powdered with stars and beams of gold, from whence a phœnix descended down to a mount of sweet shrubs on the lower scaffold, and there setting, a lion of gold crowned made amity to the phœnix by motions of the head; between which familiarity, as it seemed, there came forth a young lion, on whose head, two angels from the heaven, placed an imperial crown, and the old lion and the phœnix vanished, leaving the young lion crowned alone, and then the aforesaid ladies delivered speeches. On the nether scaffold, a child royally arrayed, representing the king, was seated on a throne, supported by four other children, representing Royalty with a sceptre, Justice with a sword, Truth, with a book, and Mercy with a *curtana*; these four made speeches. Also, beside the throne was the golden fleece, kept by two bulls and a serpent, their mouths flaming out fire, and six children who played upon the 'regalles,' and sang goodly songs. 3. The little conduit in Cheap being richly hung and ornamented, at the top was a tower, with the waits playing in it, an old man sitting in a chair, crowned, sceptred, and arrayed, represented king Edward the Confessor, with a lion of gold lying before him which moved its head. On a stage, at the foot of the conduit, St. George stood in complete harness, with a page also harnessed, holding his spear and shield, and a fair maiden holding a lamb in a string; near them was a child richly apparelled, to pronounce a Latin oration, and St. George was to make one in English, but, for lack of time, it could not be done, his grace made such speed: howbeit, there was a song. 4. When the king came to St. George's church, in St. Paul's churchyard, there was a rope stretched from the battlements of St. Paul's, and with a great anchor, fastened a little before Paul's house-gate. When the king approached, there

came a man, a native of Arragon, lying on the rope, his head forward, casting his arms and his legs abroad, running on his breast on the rope from the battlements to the ground, as it had been an arrow out of a bow. Then rising from the ground, he went to the king, and kissed his foot, and after certain words to his Highness, departed, and went upwards upon the rope till he came over the midst of the church, and there, having a rope about him, he played certain mysteries on the said rope, as tumbling, casting one leg from another, tying himself by the right leg a little beneath 'the wrist' of the foot, and hanging a while recovered himself upon the rope, unknit the knot, and came down again, which staid the king's majesty, with all the train, a good space of time. 5. Upon the great conduit in Fleet Street, was a stage, whereon sat a child richly arrayed, to represent Truth, with two other children before him in red, representing Faith and Justice, whose names were written on their places. As the king passed, Truth made a speech, and two hogsheads of wine were broached, 'take who would.' The company then proceeded in goodly order to Temple-bar. The gate was painted with battlements and buttresses of divers colours, richly hung with cloth of arras, and garnished with fourteen standards. Eight French trumpeters blew their trumpets after the fashion of their country, and besides them were a pair of 'regalles,' and children singing to them. The company then proceeded in goodly order till they came to Westminster, to abide the coronation.[a]

On the 1st of October, 1553, the coronation of Queen Mary was performed by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Her progress to the ceremony through the city was celebrated with similar exhibitions; 'one master Heiwood' sat in a pageant under a vine, and made an oration in Latin and English; and, as if to outdo the flying argosine at the last coronation, we have here a Dutchman standing on the weathercock of St. Paul's steeple, who, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood

[a] Leland. Collectan. vol. iv. p. 322.

sometimes on one foot and shook the other, and then kneeled on his knees to the great marvel of the people.[a]

At the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, on Sunday, January 15, 1558-9, her progress was marked by superb pageants. On her arrival at Temple-bar, *Gogmagog* and *Corinæus*, two giants, were seen holding above the gate, a table wherein was written in Latin verse, 'the effect of all the pageants which the city before had erected.'[b]

The encouragement that literature and the Greek language received from Elizabeth, created a fashion for classical allusion upon every convenient occasion, and the queen's admiration of this kind of compliment, caused the mythology of ancient learning to be introduced into the various shows and spectacles in her honour. Warton says, that when she paraded through a country town almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, on entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury: in the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with tritons and nereids; the pages of the family were converted into wood-nymphs, who passed from every bower; and the footmen gamboled over the lawn in the figure of satyrs.[c]

On the 15th of March, 1603, when king James I. and Queen Anne passed from the tower through London, there were various pageants, with laudatory speeches in English and Latin. On the 31st of May, 1610, the corporation of London met Prince Henry on his return from Richmond, and entertained him with a grand water-fight and fire-works. In 1616, 'the city's love' was manifested by a water entertainment at Chelsea and Whitehall, on the creation of the Prince of Wales, who, afterwards, 25th Nov. 1641, when Charles I. was treated with a 'triumph' on his safe arrival from Scotland. On the 5th of July, 1660, there were magnificent triumphs at an entertainment given in the Guildhall to Charles II., the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the two houses

[a] Glory of Regality, p. 287. [b] Ibid. [c] Warton, vol. iii. p. 491.

of parliament, the privy-council, judges, &c. The passage of Charles II. through London to his coronation in 1661, was celebrated by pageants, with 'speeches and impresses illustrated from antiquity;' and on the 23d of August, 1662, the city welcomed his return with his queen, from Hampton Court, to Whitehall, with shows and pageants upon the Thames.

The Old Chronicles contain large particulars of these and similar exhibitions. Certain traces of the processional parts were retained in London about forty or fifty years ago, in the lord mayor's show: but the pageants and orations have been long discontinued, and the show itself is so much contracted, that it is in reality altogether unworthy of such an appellation.[a] However, as the citizens in general are so little acquainted with the subject, that most of those I have inquired of rather express a desire for some information regarding this ancient usage, I have endeavoured to contribute towards their satisfaction in the next article. Before concluding this it may be proper to observe that there were satirical pageants accommodated to the amusement of the vulgar. The procession of the *Miserable Scald Masons*, of which there is a large print, was of this kind. Its description, there is not room to insert without omitting some account of another, more connected with the subject, from a pamphlet intitled, '*The Solemn Mock Procession*, or the Tryal and Execution of the *Pope* and his ministers on the 17. of Nov. at Temple-Bar, 1680.' (4to. 8 pages.) It was a practice on that day, being the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, to celebrate the event in London by a pageant in honour of the established religion, and in ridicule of the Pope, 'the Arch-Traitor and the head Ingineer not only of our civil combinations, but also of the lamentable firing of this famous mother city of our country;' to commemorate which conflagration, with equal truth, the monument on Fish Street Hill,

'Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies.'

The author of the procession apologetically observes that

[a] Strutt's Sports, Introd. p. xxiv.

'Erasmus's satyrical drollery was found to be as effectual to bring down the Romish pageantry as Luther's gravity of argument,' and proceeds to describe the show of the day, which though abridged here, is chiefly given in the words of the tract, as follows:—

First the Captain of the Pope's guard on horseback followed by ten pioneers in red caps and coats in ranks, with staves and truncheons, to make way [as whifflers] for the main body. Next a bellman ringing, and saying in a loud doleful voice, 'Remember Justice Godfrey.' Then a dead bloody corpse representing Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey on horseback, supported by a Jesuit behind with a bloody dagger in his hand. After this, carried by two persons, a large cloth banner painted in colours, representing the Jesuits at Wild House all hanging on a gibbet, and among them 'another *twelve* that would betray their trust or conscience;' on the other side Gammer Celliers with a bloody bladder, and all her other presbyterian plot-forgers, and protestants in masquerade. *First Pageant.* In the forepart a *meal-tub*, Mrs. Cellier in one corner leaning on it, with her 'narrative' in her hand; at the other corner, '*one in black*,' bareheaded and playing on a fiddle; behind, four protestants in masquerade bi-partite garments of white and black. After the pageant an 'abhorrer' on horseback, with his face to the tail; then a man on horseback bearing a banner inscribed, 'We protestants in masquerade usher in popery.' *Second Pageant.* Four Franciscan Friars; two being capuchins in grey russet, with a cord about the middle, and long cowls on their heads hanging behind with a tail; the other, two minorites, a diminutive species of these Franciscan birds, in a cinnamon coloured habit with shorter cowls. *Third Pageant.* Two Augustine Friars, in black close habits with a leather girdle; and two Dominican bouncing Friars, in black and white garments, called Brothers Preachers. *Fourth Pageant.* Here strut out four Jesuits in a black hue and garb suitable to their manners, with

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[a] Few readers require information concerning the circumstances referred to in this procession. They are mostly well known, or may be easily found in the historical works of the times they relate to.

high collars mounting up about their necks like a pasty crust. *Fifth Pageant.* Here are mounted two bishops, a sort of disciples of Christ that pretend to take place of ordinary dukes and princes; behind are two archbishops *in pontificalibus*; they differ in their crosiers. *Sixth Pageant.* Two patriarchs, with two forked crosiers, in bishop-like vestments; and two cardinals riding in pure scarlet vestments, being next cousins to the scarlet whore of Babylon. Next his Holiness's master of the ceremonies carrying the Pope's triple cross, distributing bulls, pardons, and indulgences, and crying aloud, 'Here you may have heaven for money.' *Seventh Pageant.* Here comes ANTI CHRIST himself arrayed in scarlet robes, furred with ermine, and covered with gold and silver lace, with a triple crown, inscribed in front '*Mystery*,' holding two keys in his hands, pretended to be of a place he is never likely to get into; two swords standing at his right hand, one typifying excommunication, the other civil dominion over kings and princes; sprawling under his feet, the Emperor Frederick, on whose neck he insolently trod at Venice; many other crowns and sceptres that he arrogates the disposal of, also at his feet. A Page in white at one corner of the throne, brandishing a banner inscribed, 'This is the king of kings:' another page at the other corner, holding a streamer inscribed, 'Thou art our God the Pope.' *Eighth Pageant.* The Empress Donna Olympia, the Pope's mistress, surrounded by four nuns; on the pageant a streamer inscribed, 'Courtezans in ordinary.' *Ninth Pageant.* They usher in their religion with fineries, but the sting of the Inquisition is in the serpent's tail; here is the main scene of Anti Christ's cruelties; in this pageant you see a seat of judicature whereon sits a bishop as inquisitor-general, surrounded by monks as inquisitor's assistants; a poor martyr condemned before them, dragged to a stake environed with fagots to burn him, having a *sanbenite* cap on his head all painted with devils; the space round about strewed and hemmed with racks and instruments of torture.—'In this fatal pomp the procession sets out from Whitechapel-bars, and on through Bishopsgate, through Cornhill, Cheapside, and Ludgate, till it comes to Temple-bar,

where the Pope and his ministers being brought before the figure of Queen Elizabeth, receives his first sentence, and afterwards being led before the statue or tribunal of King Charles II., on the other side, he receives his final doom and downfal, namely, to be burnt with all his fry before Queen Besses throne, the ashes to be scattered about, that thence might never spring hereafter in England one popish phenix; 'and, in remembrance of her happy days, and for the victories that God gives us in our days against the Pope and his emissaries, the solemnity is closed with fuzees and artificial fires.'[a] In the *Solemn Mock Procession* of the year before, 1679, the Devil attended the Pope as his 'right-trusty and well beloved cousin and counsellor;' caressed, hugged, whispered, and often instructed him aloud. The procession arriving at the eastern side of Temple-bar, where, the statue of Queen Elizabeth having been conspicuously ornamented, a song alluding to the protection of the protestants by that queen was sung, and his Holiness, after some compliments and reluctances, was decently toppled from all his grandeur into a vast bonfire over against the Inner Temple gate; 'the crafty Devil leaving his Infallibility in the lurch, and laughing as heartily at his deserved ignominious end, as subtle Jesuits do at the ruin of bigotted lay catholics whom themselves have drawn in.'[b] In Queen Anne's time the figure of the Pretender was added to that of the Pope and the Devil.

A vain attempt to revive obsolete prejudices in England by dressing a statue, was made on the anniversary of King William, in 1821, when a clandestine decoration of his effigy in St. James's Square was effected during the night. The last Solemn Mock Procession round the bedizened statue of King William, in College-green, Dublin, took place the same year. This annual insult to three fourths of the people of Ireland, was finally suppressed by Marquess Wellesley, the Lord Lieutenant.

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[a] This procession is engraved on a copper-plate, 'sold by Jonathan Wilkins at the Star in Cheapside next to Mercer's chapel.'

[b] Brand, vol. ii. p. 519. Gent. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 515, from Lord Somers's Tracts.

X. LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

——————— Behold
How London *did* pour out her citizens!
The Mayor, and all his brethren, in best sort!

Shakspeare.

An historical description of the annual procession and ceremonial on the entrance of the Lord Mayor of London into office, might be a work of some interest to those citizens who unite antiquarian with civic feeling. But as an undertaking requiring so much labour in the execution is scarcely to be expected, and the Lord Mayor's show is the only stated exhibition in the metropolis that remains as a memorial of the great doings in the time of the pageants, I purpose some account of its ancient appearance, commencing with a description, on the authority of a MS. quoted by Dr. Nathan Drake.[a] It is 'A breffe description of the Royall Citie of London, capital citie of this realme of England, (city arms). Wrytten by me, William Smythe, citezen and haberdasher of London, 1575.' With a slight alteration of the orthography, the account is as follows:

'The day of St. Simon and St. Jude, the mayor enters into his state and office. The next day he goes by water to Westminster in most triumphlike manner, his barge being garnished with the arms of the city; and near it a ship-boat of the Queen's Majesty being trimmed up and rigged like a ship of war, with divers pieces of ordnance, standards, pennons, and targets of the proper arms of the said mayor, of his company, and of the mer-

a Shakspeare and his Times, vol. ii. p. 164.

chants' adventurers, or of the staple, or of the company of the new trades; next before him goeth the barge of the livery of his own company, decked with their own proper arms; then the bachelors' barge; and so all the companies in London, in order, every one having their own proper barge, with the arms of their company. And so passing along the Thames, he landeth at Westminster, where he taketh his oath in the Exchequer before the judge there; which done, he returneth by water as aforesaid, and landeth at Paul's wharf, where he, and the rest of the aldermen take their horses, and in great pomp pass through Cheapside. And first of all cometh two great standards, one having the arms of the city, and the other the arms of the mayor's company; next them two drums and a flute, then an ensign of the city, and then about lxx or lxxx poore men marching two and two, in blue gowns, with red sleeves and caps, every one bearing a pike and a target, whereon is painted the arms of all them that have been mayors of the same company that this new mayor is of. Then two banners, one of the king's arms, the other of the mayor's own proper arms. Then a set of hautboys playing, and after them certain *wyfflers*,[a] in velvet coats and chains of gold, with white staves in

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[a] *Whiffler*, Mr. Douce says, (*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, vol. i. p. 507.) is a term undoubtedly borrowed from *whiffle*, another name for a fife or small flute; for whifflers were originally those who preceded armies or processions, as fifers or pipers: in process of time the term *whiffler*, which had been always used in the sense of a *fifer*, came to signify any person who went before in a procession. He observes, that Minshew defines him to be a club or staff-bearer, and that it appears, *whifflers* carried white staves, as in the annual feast of the printers, founders, and ink-makers, described by Randle Holme. Mr. Archdeacon Nares, in his *Glossary*, cites Grose's mention of the *whifflers* at Norwich, who make way for the corporation by flourishing their swords. A friend informs me that the dexterity of the Norwich *whifflers* in turning their swords to every possible direction is amazing. Mr. Archdeacon Nares remarks, that in the city of London, young freemen, who march at the head of their proper companies on the Lord Mayor's day, sometimes with flags, were called *whifflers*, or *bachelor whifflers*, not because they cleared the way, but because they went first as *whifflers* did; and he quotes a character in the old Play of the *City Match*, saying, 'I look'd the next lord mayor's day to see you o' the livery, or one of the bachelor *whifflers*.'

their hands; then the *Pageant of Triumph* richly decked, whereupon by certain figures and writings, some matter touching Justice and the office of a magistrate is represented. Then sixteen trumpeters, eight and eight, having banners of the mayor's company. Then certain *wyffiers* in velvet coats and chains, with white staves as before. Then the bachelors, two and two, in long gowns, with crimson hoods on their shoulders of satin; which bachelors are chosen every year of the same company, that the mayor is of, (but not of the living) and serve as gentlemen on that and other festival days, to wait on the mayor, being in number according to the quantity of the company, sometimes sixty, or one hundred. After them twelve trumpeters more, with banners of the mayor's company; then the drum and flute of the city, and an ensign of the mayor's company; and after, the waits of the city in blue gowns, red sleeves and caps, every one having a silver collar about his neck. Then they of the livery in their long gowns, every one having his hood on his left shoulder, half-black and half-red, the number of them according to the greatness of the company whereof they are. After them follow sheriff's-officers, and then the mayor's officers, with other officers of the city, as the Common Serjeant, and the Chamberlain; next before the mayor goeth the sword-bearer, having on his head the cap of honour, and the sword of the city in his right hand, in a rich scabbard, set with pearl, and on his left hand goeth the common crier of the city, with his great mace on his shoulder all gilt. The mayor hath on a long gown of scarlet, and on his left shoulder a hood of black velvet, and a rich collar of gold of SS. about his neck, and with him rideth the old mayor also, in his scarlet gown, hood of velvet, and a chain of gold about his neck. Then all the aldermen, two and two, (among whom is the Recorder) all in scarlet gowns; those that have been mayors have chains of gold, the others have black velvet tippets. The two sheriffs come last of all, in their black scarlet gowns and chains of gold. In this order they pass along through the city to the Guildhall, where they dine that day, to the number of 1000 persons, all at the charge of the mayor and the two sheriffs. This feast costeth 400*l.*, whereof the mayor

payeth 200*l.* and each of the sheriffs, 100*l.* Immediately after dinner, they go to St. Paul's church, every one of the aforesaid poor men bearing staff, torches, and targets, which torches are lighted when it is late, before they come from evening prayer.' To this account from the MS. may be added that, in still more ancient times, the procession to and from Westminster was by land; until in 1453, Sir John Norman built a sumptuous barge at his own expense, for the purpose of going by water, when the watermen made a song in his praise, beginning, '*Row thy boat, Norman,*' and the twelve companies, emulating their chief, have, from that period, graced the Thames on Lord Mayor's day.

Mr. Stephen Jones, in his edition of the Biographia Dramatica, has drawn up a list of printed descriptions of the *London Triumphs*, or Lord Mayors' Shows, from whence it seems that the first account of this annual exhibition known to have been published, was written by George Peele, for the inauguration of Sir Wolstone Dixie, knight, on the 29th of October, 1585, when children personified the City, Magnanimity, Loyalty, Science, the Country, and the river Thames. They also represented a soldier, a sailor, and nymphs, with appropriate speeches. The show opened with a moor on the back of a lynx. On Sir Thomas Middleton's mayoralty, in 1613, the solemnity is described as unparalleled for the cost, art, and magnificence of the shows, pageants, chariots, morning, noon, and night triumphs. In 1655, the city pageants, after a discontinuance of about fourteen years, were revived. Edmund Gayton, the author of the description for that year, says, that 'our metropolis for these planetary pageants, was as famous and renowned in foreign nations, as for their faith, wealth, and valour.' In the show of 1659, an European, an Egyptian, and a Persian, were personated. On Lord Mayor's day, 1671, the king, queen, and duke of York, and most of the nobility being present, there were 'sundry shows, shapes, scenes, speeches and songs, in parts;' and the like, in 1672, and 1673, when the king again 'graced the triumphs.' The king, queen, duke and duchess of York, Prince Rupert, the duke of Monmouth, foreign ambassadors, the chief nobility, and Secretary of State, were at the

celebration of Lord Mayor's day in 1674, when there were 'emblematical figures, artful pieces of architecture, and rural dancing, with pieces spoken on each pageant.' The design of this notice being merely to acquaint the reader with the ancient character of this solemnity, it is unnecessary to do more than select such particulars as may satisfy common curiosity, and be useful to those who are interested in searching for precedents regarding the procession.

The printed accounts of the *London Pageants* are scarce, and some of such extreme rarity, as to bear a price at the rate of two and three guineas a leaf. The description of Sir Patience Ward's show on the 29th of October 1680, composed by Thomas Jordan, is an interesting specimen of the setting out and pageantry of this procession.[a] The Lord Mayor being of the livery of the merchant-tailors' company, at seven o'clock in the morning, liverymen of the first rank, appointed to conduct the business of the day, assembled at merchant-tailors' hall, to meet the masters, wardens, and assistants, in their gowns, faced with *foyns*.[b] In the second rank, others in gowns faced with *budge*,[c] and livery-hoods. In the third rank, a number of foyns-bachelors, and forty budge-bachelors, both attired in scarlet hoods and gowns. Sixty gentlemen-ushers, in velvet coats and chains of gold, bearing white staves. Thirty more in plush and buff, bearing colours and banners. Thirty-six of the king's trumpeters, with silver trumpets, headed by the serjeant-trumpeter, he wearing two scarfs, one the Lord Mayor's, and the other the company's colours. The king's drum-major, followed by four of the king's drums and fifes. Seven other drums and two fifes, wearing vests of buff, with black breeches and waste scarfs. Two city marshals on horseback, with attendants. The foot-marshal, with a rich broad shoulder-scarf, to put them in rank and file, attended by six others. The

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[a] The printed descriptions are mostly in the present or future tense.

[b] *Foyns*, the skin of the martin.

[c] *Budge*, lambs'-skin, with the wool dressed outwards.

fence-master, with attendants, bearing bright broadswords drawn. Poor pensioners, with gowns and caps, bearing standards and banners. A troop of poor persons, in azure gowns and caps. One hundred more with javelins and targets, bearing the arms of their benefactors. Being all assembled, they are by the foot-marshal's judgment, arranged into six divisions, ranked out by two and two. *The First Division contains* the ensigns of the company, followed by the poor company of pensioners. Four drums and one fife. Pensioners in coats as before described. Persons of worth, each bearing a standard or banner. Four trumpets. Two merchant-tailors' ensigns, bearing their supporters and crest. Six gentlemen-ushers. The budge-bachelors, marching in measured order. *Second Division.* Six trumpets. Two gentlemen, bearing the coats of arms of the city, and the merchant-tailors' company. Eight gentlemen, wearing gold chains. The foyns-bachelors. *Third Division.* Two gentlemen in velvet coats with banners. Ten gentlemen-ushers in coats and chains of gold, as before described. A large body of the livery in their gowns and livery-hoods, followed by 'all Lord Mayors in the *potential mood.*' In their rear divers of the city trumpets. Two gentlemen bearing the arms of the city and the Lord Mayor. Gentlemen-ushers. The court of assistants. Four drums. Six trumpets. Three gallants, bearing the banners of the diadem. The king's, queen's, and city's ensigns, attended by six gentlemen as pages. The masters and wardens of the merchant-tailors' company. Thus formed, they march from merchant-tailors' hall to the Lord Mayor's house, where his lordship and the aldermen take horse, according to their degree, and the whole body proceed in state to Guildhall. Being met at the gate by the old Lord Mayor, and there attired with the gown, fur hood, and scarf, and guarded by knights, esquires, and gentlemen, they all march through King Street down to Three-crane wharf, where the Lord Mayor and aldermen, discharging some of the attendants, take barge at the west end of the wharf; the court of assistants' livery, and the best of the gentlemen-ushers taking barge at the east-end. The rest of the ushers, with the foyns and the budge-bachelors,

remain ashore, with others, to await the return of his lordship, who proceeds with several city companies by water, and is rowed all along by the Strand to Westminster; a pleasure-boat with great guns aboard saluting him on the way. At New Palace Stairs they disembark, and making a lane to the hall, the Lord Mayor passes along to take the oath and go through the usual ceremonies. These being completed, he makes a liberal donation to the poor of Westminster, reimbarks with all his retinue, and being rowed back to Blackfriars Stairs, he lands there under beat of drum and a salute of three volleys from the Artillery Company in their martial ornaments, some in buff, with head-pieces, many being of massy silver. From Blackfriars they march before the Lord Mayor and aldermen through Cheapside to Guildhall. The pensioners and banners who went not to Westminster, being set in order to march, the foot-marshal in the rear of the Artillery Company, leads the way along by the channel up Ludgate Hill, through Lud-gate, into St. Paul's church-yard, and so into Cheapside, where his lordship is entertained by the *first pageant*, consisting of a large stage, with the coat armour of the merchant-tailors' company, eminently erected, consisting of a large tent royal, *gules*, fringed and richly garnished, *or*, lined, faced, and doubled, *ermine*. This stage is winged or flanked by two other stages, bearing two excellent figures of lively carved camels, the supporters to the company's coat. On the back of one camel, a black native Indian, in a golden robe, a purple mantle fringed with gold, pearl pendants in his ears, coronet of gold with feathers, and golden buskins laced with scarlet ribbon, holds a golden bridle in his left, and a banner of the company, representing *Treasure* in his right hand. On the other camel, a West Indian, in a robe of silver, scarlet mantle, diamonds pendant from his ears, buskins of silver laced with purple ribbon, a golden crown feathered, holds a silver bridle in his left, and a banner of the Lord Mayors, representing *Traffic*, in his right hand. On one of the camel-stages four figures sit on pedestals, one at each corner, representing *Diligence*, *Industry*, *Ingenuity*, and *Success*; on the other camel-stage, in like manner, *Mediocrity*, *Amity*, *Verity*,

Variety, all richly habited in silk or sarcenet, bear splendid emblems and banners. The royal tent, or imperial pavilion, between these two stages, is supported on one side by a minister of state representing *Royalty*, and on the other side by another representing *Loyalty;* each in rich robes of honor *gules*, wearing on their left arms shields *azure*, with this motto in gold, *For the king and kingdom*, one bearing a banner of the king's, and the other, one of the city's banners. On a high and eminent seat of throne-like ascension, is seated *Sovereignty* in royal posture and alone, with black curled hair, wearing an imperial crown, a robe of purple velvet, lined, faced, and caped with ermine, a collar of SS with a George pendant; bearing in one hand a golden globe, in the other a royal sceptre. On a seat beneath, are *Principality*, *Nobility*, and *Honour*, all richly habited. On the next seat, gradually descending beneath, are, 1. *Gentility*, shaped like a scholar and soldier, holding in one hand, clad with a golden gauntlet, a silver spear, in the other a book; 2. *Integrity*, wearing an earl's coronet for the court, a loose robe of scarlet-coloured silk for the city, underneath a close coat of grass green plush for the country; 3. *Commonalty*, as a knight of the shire in parliamentary robes. On the lowest seat, an *ancient English Hero*, with brown curling hair, in ancient armour, as worn by chief commanders, the coat of mail richly gilt, crimson and velvet scarf fringed with gold, a quiver of arrows in a gold belt on one side, a sword at the other, buskins laced with silver and gold, a silver helmet with red and white plume; in one hand a large long bow, and a spear in the other. This personage, representing *Sir John Hawkwood*, a merchant-tailor of martial renown under Edward III., when he conquered France, as soon as he perceives the lord mayor prepared, with attention riseth up, and with a martial bow exhibiteth a speech in verse of thirty-seven lines, in compliment to the merchant-tailors and the lord mayor. His lordship testifying his approbation, rideth with his brethren through the throng of spectators, till at Milk Street end, he is intercepted by *The second Pageant*, which is a chariot of ovation, or peaceful triumph, adorned with delightful pieces of curious painting, and drawn by

a golden lion and a lamb. On the lion is mounted a young negro-prince, richly habited, according to the royal mode in India, holding a golden bridle, and in the other hand St. George's banner, representing *Power*. On the lamb is mounted a white beautiful seraphim-like creature, with long bright flaxen curled hair, and on it a golden coronet of cherubim's heads and wings, a carnation sarcenet robe, with a silver mantle and wings of gold, silver, purple, and scarlet, reining the lamb by a silver bridle in his left hand, and with his right bearing an angelical staff, charged with a red cross, representing *Clemency*. In the chariot sitteth seven persons, 1. *Concordia*, 2. *Unanimia*, 3. *Pacifica*, 4. *Consentania*, 5. *Melodea*, 6. *Benevolentia*, (whose habits, and those of other characters already and hereafter mentioned, are not described here for want of room) and 7. '*Harmonia*, a lady of great gravity, with masculine aspect, wearing a lovely dark brown peruke, curiously curled, on which is planted a crown imperial; she wears a robe of French green velvet, pleasantly embroidered with gold, a crimson coloured silk and silver mantle, and sitting majestically alone in front, upon the approach and fixation of my lord mayor, improves the opportunity, riseth up, and delivereth an oration,' of forty-four lines in verse, wherein she acquaints his lordship that the other characters are her attributes, recommends unity, because division is the policy of the Pope and the Jesuits, expresses her belief that if the lion and the lamb fall out, she should run to ruin, descants upon magistrate-like virtues, and in the end tells his lordship,

> You have done all things fair, no actions foul,
> Your sherevalry gave relish of good rule,
> Nor need they doubt your mayoralty, therefore,
> Begging your pardon, I shall say no more.

This speech being concluded, his lordship exhibiting a gracious aspect of favourable acceptation, advanceth further towards Guildhall, but is civilly obstructed by another scene, and in regard, his lordship is a merchant, and his company merchant-tailors, the *Third Triumphal Scene, or Pageant*, is a ship called the

Patience, with masts, and sails, fully rigged, and manned, the *captain* whereof addresseth to my lord a speech beginning,

> What cheer, my lord? I am return'd from sea,
> To amplifie your day of Jubilee,
> In this tried vessel, &c.

His lordship having surveyed the ship, and the trumpets sounding, he continueth his determined course toward Guildhall, but by the way is once more obstructed by another scene, called the *Palace of Pleasure*, which is a triumphal Ionic arch of excellent structure, where, in distinct and perspicuous situations, sitteth nine beautiful and pleasant ladies, whose names, natures, and ornaments are consentaneous, 1. *Jollity*, 2. *Delight*, 3. *Fancy*, 4. *Felicity*, 5. *Wit*, 6. *Invention*, 7. *Tumult*, 8. *Slaughter*, 9. *Gladness*; all of them properly enrobed and adorned; and to augment their delight, there are several persons properly habited, playing on sundry loud instruments of music, one of which, with a voice as loud and as tunable as a treble hautboy, chanteth out *a Ditty in commendation of the Merchant-tailors' Trade*, commencing thus,

> Of all the Professions that ever were nam'd
> The Taylors though slighted, is much to be fam'd:
> For various Invention and Antiquity,
> No Trade with the *Taylers* compared may be:
> For warmth and distinction and Fashion he doth
> Provide for both Sexes with Silk, Stuff, and Cloth:
> Then do not disdain him or slight him, or flout him,
> Since (if well consider'd) you can't live without him.
> But let all due praises (that can be) be made
> To honour and dignifie the *Taylers* trade.
>
> When *Adam* and *Eve* out of *Eden* were hurl'd,
> They were at that time king and queen of the world:
> Yet this royal Couple were forced to play
> The *Taylers*, and put themselves in green Array;
> For Modesty and for Necessity's sake
> They had Figs for the Belly, and Leaves for the Back;
> And afterward Clothing of Sheep-skins they made
> Then judge if a *Tayler* was not the first Trade,
> The oldest Profession; and they are but Raylers,
> Who scoff and deride men that be *Merchant-Taylers*.

This song, containing five more verses, being ended, the foot-marshal places the assistants, livery, and the companies on both sides of King's-street, and the pensioners with their targets hung on the tops of the javelins; in the rear of them the ensign-bearers; drums and fifes in front; he then hastens the foins and budge-batchelors, together with the gentlemen ushers, to Guildhall, where his Lordship is again saluted by the artillerymen with three volleys more, which concludes their duty. His land attendants pass through the gallery or lane so made, into Guildhall; after which the company repairs to dinner in the hall, and the several silk-works and triumphs are likewise conveyed into Blackwell-hall; and the officers aforesaid, and the children that sit in the pageants, there refresh themselves until his Lordship hath dined. At the dinner in Guildhall, his Lordship and the guests being all seated, the city music begin to touch their instruments with very artful fingers. Their ears being as well feasted as their palates, and a concert lesson or two succeeding, 'a sober person with a good voice, grave humour, and audible utterance, proper to the condition of the times,' sings a song called *The Protestants' Exhortation*, the burden whereof is, *Love one another*, and the subject against the catholics. The song being ended, the musicians play divers new airs, which having done, three or four 'habit themselves according to the humour of the song,' and one of them chanteth forth *The Plotting Papist's Litany*, in ten stanzas, the first of which ends with

Joyntly then wee 'l agree,
To sing a Litany,
And let the burden be,
Ora pro nobis.

The *Litany*[a] concluded, and night approaching, the festival

[a] Nearly a century and a half after the above-mentioned *Litany*, composed by the City Laureate, was sung in character for the entertainment of the corporation of London, I was necessarily present for three successive days during certain trials in Guildhall, when the celebration of Lord Mayor's day by a Mock *Litany* on the same spot, might have been among the serviceable precedents cited to the juries.

terminates. Whereupon his Lordship, attended by a retinue of his own company, takes coach and is conducted to Skinner's-hall, and being housed, those attendant on him then depart, and the triumphs and silk-works by the care of the master artificers being lodged for that night in Blackwell-hall, are on the next day conveyed to Merchant-Taylors'-hall.

In 1687 the pageants were very costly, and prepared at the expense of the company of Goldsmiths, to which Sir John Shorter, Knt. the Lord Mayor for that year belonged. Matthew Taubman describes the festival as 'a liberal and unanimous assembly of all the chiefs of the imperial city of the most flourishing kingdom in the universe: this year, adorned with the presence of their most sacred majesties, the king, (James II.) Queen, Queen-dowager, Prince and Princess of Denmark, with all the chief nobility and principal officers of the court; the archbishop of Canterbury, and chief prelates of the church; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice, and all the learned judges of the laws; with all foreign ministers, ambassadors, envoys, residents, who having observed the tables of the most puissant princes, and seen the most hospitable preparations of foreign nations, rest here amazed at the *ne plus ultra* of all entertainments!' It should be mentioned that Taubman was the city Poet; and that since the visit of Charles II. in 1674, the Lord Mayor on the day of his mayoralty had not entertained the king. He says, 'we must not omit the stateliness of the morning procession and progress by water to Westminster, where his Lordship once a year, (as the Duke of Venice to the sea) weds himself to the Thames with a ring of surrounding barges, that being also a part of his dominion.' The pageants were four in number and exceedingly splendid, and the principal character in each delivered a versified address to the Lord Mayor. One of the pageants, a ship, the *Unity* of London, a merchant adventurer to Norway and Denmark, was an honour paid to the Lord Mayor by his company, on account of his lordship's mercantile occupation. This ship, laden with all sorts of timber for ship and house building, and architecture; represented his lordship's way of traffick. It measured in length from the

poop to the stern an *hundred and forty-five* feet, and in height *forty-five* feet from the water to the stern. She carried twenty-two guns, with ancients, pendents, streamers, flags, tackling, anchors, and all sorts of rigging, appertaining to a merchantman of that burden. On board were a captain and his mate, a gunner and his mate, a boatswain, and a full complement of men, care being taken to assign to each man his proper station; some at the main tack, others the braces, others the bowlines; some climbing up the ladders to the main-top, and others sitting across the yard-arm. The mariners were dressed in Indian stripes, and rugged yarn caps, blue, white, and red. The captain, dressed in Indian silk with a rich fur cap, being placed in the stern with several trumpets, on the boatswain giving a signal by his whistle, accosted his Lordship with a speech. A pageant of such a description, and of such enormous bulk, it is almost difficult in our times to conceive as having been erected at so late a period; yet structures of corresponding magnitude are described on other occasions, and the fact is beyond all doubt.

The Goldsmiths' pageant in this show was equally imposing, and must have been of amazing size. It was a 'Hieroglyphic of the Company,' consisting of a spacious laboratory or work-house, containing several conveniences and distinct apartments, for the different operators and artificers, with forges, anvils, hammers, and all instruments proper for the mystery of the Goldsmiths. In the middle of the frontispiece, on a rich golden chair of state, sat ST. DUNSTAN, the ancient patron and tutelar guardian of the company. He was attired, to express his prelatical dignity and canonization, in a robe of fine lawn, with a cope over it of shining cloth of gold reaching to the ground. He wore a golden mitre beset with precious stones, and bore in his left hand a golden crosier, and in his right a pair of Goldsmith's tongs. Behind him were Orpheus and Amphion playing on melodious instruments; standing more forward were the Cham of Tartary, and the grand Sultan, who being 'conquered by the Christian harmony seemed to sue for reconcilement.' At the steps of the prelatical throne was a goldsmith's forge and furnace, with fire, crucibles,

and gold, and a workman blowing the bellows. On each side was a large press of gold and silver plate. Towards the front were shops of artificers and jewellers all at work with anvils, hammers, and instruments for enamelling, beating out gold and silver plate; on a step below St. Dunstan, sat an assay-master, with his trial-balance and implements. There were two apartments for the processes of disgrossing, flatting, and drawing gold and silver wire, and the fining, melting, smelting, refining, and separating of gold and silver, both by fire and water. Another apartment contained a forge with miners in canvas breeches, red waistcoats and red caps, bearing spades, pickaxes, twibbles, and crows for sinking shafts and making adits. The Lord Mayor having approached and viewed the curiosity of the pageant was addressed in

A Speech by St. Dunstan.

Waked with this musick from my silent urn,
Your patron Dunstan comes t' attend your turn.
Amphion and old Orpheus playing by,
To keep our *forge* in tuneful harmony.
These pontifical ornaments I wear,
Are types of rule and order all the year:
In these white robes none can a fault descry,
Since all have liberty as well as I:
Nor need you fear the shipwrack of your cause,
Your loss of charter or the penal laws,
Indulgence granted by your bounteous prince,
Makes for that loss too great a recompence.
This charm the Lernæan Hydra will reclaim;
Your patron shall the tameless rabble tame.
Of the proud Cham I scorn to be afear'd;
I'll take the angry Sultan by the beard.
Nay, should the Devil intrude amongst your foes. [*Enter Devil.*

Devil. What then?

St. Dunstan. ——— Snap, thus, I have him by the nose!

The most prominent feature in the Devil's face being held by St. Dunstan's tongs, after the prelate had duly spurned the submission of the Cham of Tartary and the Grand Sultan, a silversmith with three other workmen proceeding to the great anvil, commenced working a plate of massy metal, singing and keeping

time upon the anvil. Upon this, Taubman says, 'the speech being ended, the pageant moves easily, being led by a guard of twenty-four in the front, twelve of which are lictors in Roman habits, bearing axes in their hands, with head-pieces, and leopards' heads on each shoulder, as also on their buskins; and twelve yeomen bearing blunderbusses, apparelled after the same manner, with head-pieces and buskins; besides green men, swabs, satyrs, and attendants innumerable.' Before the arrival of the Lord Mayor and his train at Guildhall, his majesty passed on horseback through the city with a large guard to attend him, led up by the Duke of Northumberland, and the foot guard by the Lord Craven. The royal visitants dined at a table raised upon the hustings at the east end of the hall; the foreign embassadors, the lords of the council, and others of the peerage and nobility, at the two next tables raised on each side of the hall; the Lord Mayor, the citizens of the different liveries at several tables which filled the whole body of the hall, and the Aldermen dined at a table raised at the west end. His Lordship beginning their Majesties' healths, the hall was filled with huzzas and acclamations. At dinner, before the banquet, a loyal song was provided for the entertainment of his majesty.

The printed account of Lord Mayor's Show next year, the year of that king's abdication, is entitled, 'London's Anniversary Festival, performed on Monday, October 29, 1688, for the entertainment of the Right Hon. Sir John Chapman, Knt. Lord Mayor of the City of London; being their great year of Jubilee: with a panegyric upon the restoring of the charter; and a sonnet provided for the entertainment of the king;' also by Taubman, the City Laureate. On the following Lord Mayor's day, October 29, 1689, the Prince of Orange being seated in the vacant throne as king William III., he dined at Guildhall with Queen Mary, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the whole court, and both houses of Parliament, when there were 'several pageants and speeches, together with a song for the entertainment of their Majesties.' Taubman also prepared this pageant, and provided the same loyal song to entertain William III. that he

had caused to be sung for the entertainment of James II. This was the second mayoralty of Sir Thomas Pilkington ; who being of the Skinner's company, a pageant in honour of their occupation, consisted of 'a spacious wilderness, haunted and inhabited with all manner of wild beasts and birds of various shapes and colours, even to beasts of prey, as wolves, bears, panthers, leopards, sables, and beavers ; likewise dogs, cats, foxes, and rabbits, which tost up now and then into a balcony fell oft upon the *company's* heads, and by them tost again into the crowd, afforded great diversion ; melodious harmony likewise allayed the fury of the wild beasts, who were continually moving, dancing, curvetting, and tumbling to the music.'

At the alteration of the style, the Lord Mayor's show, which had been on the 29th of October, was changed to the 9th of November. The speeches in the pageants were usually composed by the city Poet, an officer of the corporation, with an annual salary, who provided a printed description for the members of the corporation before the day. Settle, the last city Poet, wrote the last pamphlet intended to describe a Lord Mayor's Show ; it was for Sir Charles Duncombe's, in 1708, but the Prince of Denmark's death the day before, prevented the exhibition. The last lord mayor who rode on horseback at his mayoralty was Sir Gilbert Heathcote in the reign of queen Anne.

The modern exhibitions, bettered as they are by the men in armour under Mr. Marriott's judicious management, have no pretension to vie with the grandeur of the 'London Triumphs.' In 1760, the Court of Common Council recommended pageants to be exhibited for the entertainment of their majesties on Lord Mayor's day. Although such revivals are inexpedient, yet, surely, means may be devised for improving the appearance of the present procession, without further expenditure from the city funds, or interfering with the public appropriation of the allowance for the support of the civic dignity.

XI. THE GIANTS IN GUILDHALL.

'——— arch'd so high that *Giants* may get through.'

Shakspeare.

All that remains of the Lord Mayor's Show, to remind the curiously informed of its ancient character, is in the first part of the procession. These are the poor men of the company to which the Lord Mayor belongs, habited in long gowns and close caps of the company's colour, bearing painted shields on their arms, but without javelins. So many of these head the show, as there are years in the Lord Mayor's age. Their obsolete costume and hobbling walk are sport for the unsedate, who, from imperfect tradition, year after year, are accustomed to call them old bachelors. The numerous band of gentlemen-ushers in velvet coats, wearing chains of gold and bearing white staves, is reduced to half-a-dozen full-dressed footmen, carrying umbrellas in their hands. The antiquarian reminiscences occasioned by the throwing of substances that stone-eaters alone would covet, from the tops of the houses, can arise no more.[a] Even the giants in Guildhall, elevated upon octagon stone columns, to watch and ward the great east window, stand unrecognized, except in their gigantic capacity.

From the time when I was astonished by the information, that, 'every day when the giants hear the clock strike twelve, they

[a] This practice, derived perhaps from the kindly showering of comfits and sweet-cakes peculiar to the pageant, has been abolished by the efforts of successive Lord Mayors.

Drawn and Etched from the Statues by George Cruikshank.

THE GIANTS IN GUILDHALL.

Executed for Howe's Ancient Mysteries, &c.

come down to dinner,' I have had something of curiosity towards them. How came they there, and what are they for? In vain have been my examinations of Stow, Howell, Strype, Noorthouck, Maitland, Seymour, Pennant, and numberless other authors of books and tracts regarding London. They scarcely deign to mention them, and no one relates a syllable from whence we can possibly affirm that the giants of their day were the giants that now exist. To this remark there is a solitary exception. Hatton, whose *New View of London* bears the date of 1708, says in that work, 'This stately hall being much damnify'd by the unhappy conflagration of the city in 1666, was rebuilt *Anno* 1669, and extremely well beautified and repaired both in and outside, which cost about 2,500*l.*, and 2 *new* Figures of Gigantick Magnitude will be *as before.*'[a] Presuming on the ephemeral information of his readers at the time he published, Hatton has obscured his information by a brevity, which leaves us to suppose that the giants were destroyed when Guildhall was 'much damnify'd' by the fire of London in 1666; and that from that period they had not been replaced. Yet it is certain that giants were there in 1699, when Ned Ward published his London Spy. Describing a visit to Guildhall, he says, 'We turned down King Street, and came to the place intended, which we entered with as great astonishment to see the giants, as the Morocco ambassador did London when he saw the snow fall. I asked my friend the meaning and design of setting up those two lubberly preposterous figures; for I suppose they had some peculiar end in it. Truly, says my friend, I am wholly ignorant of what they intended by them, unless they were set up to show the city what huge loobies their forefathers were, or else to fright stubborn apprentices into obedience; for the dread of appearing before two such monstrous loggerheads, will sooner reform their manners, or mould them into a compliance with their masters' will, than carrying them before my Lord Mayor, or the Chamberlain of London; for some of them are as much frighted at the names

[a] Hatton's New View of London, 1708, 8vo. p. 607.

of *Gog* and *Magog*, as little children are at the terrible sound of Raw-head and Bloody-bones.' There is no doubt that at that time the city giants were far more popular than now; for in the same work, two passengers, who had slyly alighted from a coach without discharging it, at Bartholomew Fair, are addressed by the coachman, with 'Pay me my fare, or by *Gog* and *Magog* you shall feel the smart of my whipcord;' an oath which in our time is obsolete, though in all probability it was common then, or it would not have been used by Ward in preference to his usual indecency. Again: as to Giants being in Guildhall before Hatton wrote, and whether they were the present statues. On the 24th of April, 1685, there were 'wonderful and stupendous fire-works in honour of their majesties' coronation, (James II. and his queen) and for the high entertainment of their majesties, the nobility, and *City of London*, made on the Thames.'[a] Among the devices of this exhibition, erected on a raft in the middle of the river, were two pyramids; between them was a figure of the sun in polished brass, below it a great cross, and beneath that a crown, all stored with fire-works; and a little before the pyramids 'were placed the statues of *the two Giants of Guildhall*, in lively colours and proportions facing Whitehall, the backs of which were all filled with fiery materials,' and 'from the first deluge of fire till the end of the sport, which lasted near an hour, *the two Giants*, the cross, and the sun, grew all in a light flame in the figures described, and burned without abatement of matter.' From this mention of 'statues *of* the two giants *of* Guildhall,' it is to be inferred, that giants were *in* Guildhall fourteen years before Ward's book was published, and that, probably, the fire-work-maker took them for his models, because their forms being familiar to the '*City of London*,' their appearance would be an attraction as well as a compliment to his civic audience. Whether the giants in the Hall *then*, were our present giants, will be satisfactorily determined.

[a] See the 'Narrative,' by R. Lowman, 1685, folio, half sheet; 1685.

Until the last reparation of Guildhall, in 1815, the present giants stood with the old clock and a balcony of iron-work between them, over the stairs leading from the Hall to the Courts of Law and the Council Chamber. When they were taken down, in that year, and placed on the floor of the hall, I thoroughly examined them as they lay in that situation. They are made of wood,[a] and hollow within, and from the method of joining and gluing the interior, are evidently of late construction, but they are too substantially built for the purpose of being either carried or drawn, or any way exhibited in a pageant. On inspecting them at that period, I made minute inquiry of an old and respectable officer of Guildhall, with whom they were favourites, as to what particulars existed in the city archives concerning them; he assured me that he had himself anxiously desired information on the same subject, and that after an investigation through the different offices, there was not a trace of the period when they commenced to be, nor the least record concerning them. This was subsequently confirmed to me by gentlemen belonging to other departments.

Just before 1708, the date of Hatton's book, Guildhall had been repaired; and Hatton says, 'in the middle of this front are depensiled in gold these words, *Reparata et Ornata Thoma Rawlinson, Milit. Majore,* An. Dom. M.DCC.VI.' From whence, and his observation, in the extract first quoted, that 'two *new* figures of gigantic magnitude *will be as before,*' he intends his reader to understand that, as before *that* reparation there *had been* two giants, so, with the new adornment of the hall there would be two *new* giants.

The illustration, or rather proof of Hatton's meaning, is to be found in '*The Gigantick History of the two famous Giants in Guildhall, London.*'[b] This very rare book, and I call it so because

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[a] Noorthouck writing in 1773, (Hist. of London, 4to. p. 590,) erroneously affirms that the giants are made of pasteboard.

[b] 'Third Edition, corrected. London: Printed for Tho. Boreman, Bookseller, near the Giants in Guildhall, and at the Boot and Crown, on Ludgate-Hill, 1741.'—2 vols, 64mo.

the copy I consult is the only one I ever saw, it is unnecessary to extract more from than is really essential to the present purpose. It states, that 'Before the present giants inhabited Guildhall, there were two giants made only of wicker-work and pasteboard, put together with great art and ingenuity: and those two terrible original giants had the honour yearly to grace my Lord Mayor's show, being carried in great triumph in the time of the pageants; and when that eminent annual service was over, remounted their old stations in Guildhall—till by reason of their very great age, old Time, with the help of a number of city rats and mice, had eaten up all their entrails. The dissolution of the two old, weak, and feeble giants, gave birth to the two present substantial, and majestic giants; who, by order, and at the city charge, were formed and fashioned. Captain Richard Saunders,[a] an eminent carver in King Street, Cheapside, was their father; who, after he had completely finished, clothed, and armed these his two sons, they were immediately advanced to those lofty stations in Guildhall, which they have peaceably enjoyed ever since the year 1708.' From the title of the 'Gigantick History' it appears to have been published within Guildhall itself, when shops were permitted there;[b] so that Boreman, the publisher, had the best means that time and place could afford of obtaining true information, and for obvious reasons he was

[a] '——————— a citizen
Of credit and renown,
A *trainband captain*——.' Cowper.

[b] There were also shops formerly within *Westminster-hall*, on each side, along the whole length of the hall. I have a print of its interior in that state, about the year 1720, with books, prints, gloves, and other articles displayed for sale in cases against the walls, and on the counters, at which people are being served; lawyers and their clients walk and converse in the middle of the hall; the judges are sitting in '*open* court,' the courts being merely partitioned off from the body of the hall to the height of eight or nine feet, with the side bars on the outside at which the attorneys moved for their rules of course. Exeter Change now, except as to width, is a pretty exact resemblance of Westminster-hall then. Ned Ward relates, that he and his companion visited Westminster-hall and 'walked down by the sempstresses, who were very nicely digitising and pleating turn-overs and ruffles for the young students, and coaxing them with their amorous looks, obliging cant, and inviting gestures.'

unlikely to state what was not correct. It is further related in this work, that 'the first honour which the two ancient wicker-work giants were promoted to in the city, was at the Restoration of King Charles II., when with great pomp and majesty they graced a triumphal arch which was erected on that happy occasion at the end of King Street, in Cheapside.' This was before the fire of London, by which the hall was 'much damnify'd,' but not burned down; for the conflagration was principally confined to the wooden roof, and, according to this account, the wicker-giants escaped, till their infirmities, and the labors of the 'city rats' rendered it necessary to supersede them.

That *wicker* was used in constructing figures for the London pageants is certain. Haywood, in his description of the pageants of the Lord Mayor, Raynton's Show in 1632, says, that 'the moddellor and composer of these seuerall pieces, Maister Gerard Christmas, found these pageants and showes of *wicker* and paper, and reduc't them to sollidity and substance.' But, to prove the validity of the statement in the 'Gigantick History,' that the present giants were put up upon the reparation of the hall in 1706, an examination of the city archives became necessary, and as the History fortunately mentions Captain Richard Saunders as the carver, the name became a clue to successful inquiry. Accordingly, on examination of the city accounts at the chamberlain's office, under the head of 'Extraordinary Works,' for 1707, I discovered among the sums 'Paid for repairing of the Guildhall and Chappell,' an entry in the following words:

To *Richard Saunders*, Carver, Seaventy pounds, by order of the Co'mittee for Repairing Guildhall, dated y^e^ x^th^. of April, 1707, for work by him done, } 70*l.*

This entry of the payment confirms the relation of the Gigantic historian. Saunders's bill, which doubtless contained the charges for the two giants, and all the vouchers before 1786,

belonging to the Chamberlain's office, were destroyed by a fire there in that year. Beyond this single item, corroborating the narrative of the 'Gigantick History,' there is no information to be obtained at Guildhall, where my researches were obligingly assisted by the prompt kindness of Henry Woodthorpe, jun. Esq. deputy town-clerk, William Mountague, Esq. clerk of the works, and B. W. Scott, Esq. of the chamberlain's office.

Giants were part of the pageantry used in different cities of the kingdom. By an ordinance of the Mayor, aldermen, and common-council of Chester,[a] for the setting of the watch on the eve of the festival of St. John the Baptist, in 1564, it was directed that there should be annually, according to ancient custom, a pageant, consisting of *four giants*, with animals, hobby-horses, and other figures, therein specified.[b] In 1599, Henry Hardman, Esq. the Mayor of that year, from religious motives, caused the giants in the Midsummer show 'to be broken, and not to goe *the Devil in his feathers*,' and he provided a *man in complete armour* to go in their stead; but in 1601, John Ratclyffe, a beer-brewer, being mayor, set out the giants and the Midsummer show as usual. On the Restoration of Charles II. new ones were ordered to be made, and the estimate for finding the materials and workmanship of the *four great giants*, as they were before, was at five pounds a giant; and four men to carry them at two shillings and sixpence each. The materials for making these Chester giants were deal-boards, nails, pasteboard, scaleboard, paper of various sorts, buckram, size cloth, and old sheets for their bodies, sleeves and shirts, which were to be coloured; also tinsel, tinfoil, gold and silver leaf, and colours of different kinds. A pair of old sheets were to cover the *father and mother giants*, and three yards of buckram were provided for the mother's and *daughter's* hoods. There is an entry in the Chester charges of one shilling and fourpence 'for arsenic to put into the paste to save the *giants* from being eaten by the

[a] Harl. MSS. 1368.

[b] Harl. MSS. 2125.

rats;[a] a precaution, which, if adopted in the formation of the old wicker-giants of London, was not effectual, though how long they had ceased to exist before the reparation of the hall, and the carving of their successors, does not appear. One conjecture may perhaps be hazarded, that, as after the Mayor of Chester had ordered the giants there to be destroyed, he provided a man in armour as a substitute; so perhaps the dissolution of the old London Giants, and the incapacity of the new ones for the duty of Lord Mayor's show, occasioned the appearance of the men in armour in that procession.

However stationary the present ponderous figures were destined to remain, there can scarcely be a question as to the frequent use of their wicker predecessors in the corporation shows. The giants were great favourites in the pageants.[b] Stow, in describing the ancient setting of the nightly watch in London on St. John's eve, relates that 'the Mayor was surrounded by his footmen and torch-bearers, and followed by two henchmen on large horses: the Mayor had, besides his *giant*, three pageants; whereas the sheriffs had only two, besides their *giants*, each with their morris dance and one henchman.'[c] It is related, that to make the people wonder, these giants were armed, and marched as if they were alive, to the great diversion of the boys, who, peering under, found them stuffed with brown paper.[d] A character in Marston's 'Dutch Courtezan,' a comedy acted in 1605, says, 'Yet all will scarce make me so high as one of the *Gyant's stilts* that stalks before my Lord Mayor's Pageants.'[e]

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[a] Strutt's Sports, Pref. p. xxvi.

[b] Strutt, p. xxiii.

[c] On the 26th of May, 1555, 'was a gay May-game at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, with *giants* and hobby-horses, drums and guns, morris-dancers, and other minstrels.'—*(Strype's Memorials.)* Burton (in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*) includes *giants* among the ordinary domestic recreations of winter.

[d] Strutt, p. 319. [d] Brand, i. p. 257.

[e] *Stilts* to encrease the statue of the *giants*, and the introduction of the *morris-dance*, are instances of the desire to gratify the fondness of our ancestors for strange sights and festive amusements. A cock dancing on *stilts*

It has been already mentioned,[a] that on queen Elizabeth's progress to her coronation, Gogmagog and Corinæus, two giants, were stationed at Temple-bar. It is not certain, yet it is probable, that these were the wicker giants brought from Guildhall for the occasion. In the reign before, when queen Mary and Philip II. of Spain made their public entry, there was at London bridge a grand spectacle, with two images representing two giants, the one named Corineus, and the other Gog-magog, holding between them certain Latin verses.[b] There is scarcely a likelihood that these were any

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to the music of a pipe and tabor, is in Strutt's Sports (plate xxiii. p. 221,) from a book of prayers written towards the close of the thirteenth century, (Harl. MSS. 6563). Strutt says that in the present day this may probably be considered as a mere effort of the illuminator's fancy: to show, however, that it was probably a real performance, he exemplifies the teachableness of birds; to which may be added, that I have seen a hen, one of whose limbs was broken by accident and replaced by a wooden leg, walking among her companions apparently without inconvenience.

A few readers, I know, will pardon me for introducing an etching, *(see plate)* of a *Fools' Morris Dance*, from a picture painted in a sort of stone colour, shaded with brown. The principal performer is striding on *stilts*, and with a bauble or whip of long bladders in his right hand, flaps one of his companions, lying on the ground, while he bears on high, in his left hand, two common bladders, which another figure endeavours to reach. Two of the dancers seem, by their position, to give full effect to their bells; and for the same purpose, another puts a barrel in motion, by treading on it. To each leg of these five dancers are thirty-two bells: they wear loose coats, cut in a Vandyke form at the bottom, with tassels on the points: tassels are also attached to their hanging sleeves, and to the tops of their caps, which come over in front like the fool's cock's-comb. This exhibition takes place, to the music of a drum and flute, on a stage lighted by a branch of four candles from the ceiling. The principal spectator is a female, whose waist is grasped by a person looking on over her shoulder; two men in hats and cloaks are to the right of the flute-player, and in the other corner is a group of uncovered figures, one of whom seems to be a friar. The arch humour of the chief actor's countenance, and the dexterity with which he buffets and stilts, appear to denote him a jocnlator. But, without further remark, I submit this curious scene to the consideration of those who are better able to judge of its real character. Mr. Cruikshank's etching has preserved not only the spirit of the figures, but the minutiæ of the costume.

[a] At p. 241.

[b] Strutt's Sports, Pref. p. xxvii.

Faithfully Etched by George Cruikshank from an original Oil Picture 15 inches high by 25 inches wide in the possession of William Hone.

FOOLS' MORRIS DANCE.

other than Guildhall Giants, which on the occasion of a corporation rejoicing, could be removed with the utmost ease.

Orator Henley, on the 21st of October, 1730, availed himself of the anticipated civic festival for that year to deliver a Lecture upon it, mentioning the *Giants*, which he announced by newspaper advertisement as follows:—

'*At the* ORATORY,

'THE Corner of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, near Clare-market, this Day, being Wednesday, at Six o'Clock in the Evening, will be a new Riding upon an old Cavalcade, entituled

The CITY in its GLORY: Or,
My LORD MAYOR'S SHEW:

'Explaining to all Capacities that wonderful Procession, so much envy'd in Foreign Parts, and nois'd at Paris: on my Lord Mayor's Day; the fine Appearance and Splendor of the Companies of Trade; Bear and Chain; the Trumpets, Drums, and Cries, intermix'd; the qualifications of my L—'s Horse, the whole Art and History of the City Ladies, and Beaux at Gape-stare in the Balconies; the Airs, Dress, and Motions; THE TWO GIANTS walking out to keep Holiday; like Snails o'er a Cabbage, says an old Author, they all crept along; admir'd by their Wives, and huzza'd by the Throng.'

There is no stronger evidence of the indifference to playfulness and wit at city Elections, than the almost total silence on those occasions respecting such ample subjects for allusion and parallel as the Giants in the Hall. Almost the only instance of their application in this way, is to be found in a handbill, on occasion of a mayoralty election, dated Oct. 4th, 1816, addressed 'To the London Tavern Livery and their Spouses.' It states, that 'the day after Mr. Alderman ——— is elected Lord Mayor for the year ensuing, the following entertainments will be provided for your amusement gratis; viz. 1. The TWO GIANTS, *at the bottom of the hall*, will dance a minuet by steam, attended by Mr. Alderman ———, in a new wig upon an elastic principle, a Gentleman having bought half of his old one for the purpose of making a new peruke for the aforesaid GIANTS.' This is the first humorous allusion to the Giants after their removal to their present station.

It is supposed, by the author of the 'Gigantick History,' that the Guildhall giants represent Corinæus and Gogmagog, whose story seems to be to this effect. After the destruction of Troy, Brutus, who was the great grandson of Æneas, fled to Italy, married the daughter of Latinus, king of Latium, and succeeded him in the kingdom. At fifteen years of age, Brutus accidentally killing his father while hunting, was banished to Greece, and in course of time, collected a band of Trojans, on board a large fleet, and sailed in search of adventures.

——— in two daies and a night
Upon the Ile of Lestrigons they light;

And leaving of their ships at roade, to land
They wand'ring went the countrey for to view:
Loe there a desert citie old they fand,
And eke a temple (if report be true)
Where Dian dwelt, of whom the Troian crew
In sacrifice their captain counsell gave
For good successe, a seat and soile to crāue.

And he no whit misliking their advice
Went forth, and did before the altar hold
In his right hand a cup to sacrifice,
Fil'd both with wine, and white hind's-blood scarce cold;
And then before her statue straight he told
Devoutly all his whole petition—

* * * * *

When nine times he had spoken this, and went
Foure times the altar round, and staid agen,
He pour'd the wine and blood in hand he hent
Into the fire———

He laid him then downe by the altar's side,
Upon the white hind's skin espred therefore:
Of sweetest sleepe, he gave himselfe the more
To rest surelie. Then seemed him before
Diana chaste, the Goddesse, to appeare.
And spake to him.

She acquainted Brutus, that far to the west beyond Gaul was a sea-girt isle, which he should conquer and rule over, and his sons

after him, to whom other nations should become subject. Encouraged by this prediction, they continued their adventures,

> And sail'd to Tuscane shores on Europe coast that lie.
> When at the last amongst the men they did descrie
> Foure banisht bands of Trojans in distresse,
>
> Companions of Antenor in his flight,
> But *Corinæus* was their captain than,
> For counsell graue a wise and worthie wight;
> In wars the praise of valiantnesse he wan.
> Lord Brutus liked well this noble man,
> With him full oft confer of fates he wold,
> And vnto him the oracles he told.

With this reinforcement they again set sail, and landed at the haven of Loire in France. Being attacked by the king Goffarius, two hundred Trojans under *Corinæus* succeeded presently in utterly routing the Frenchmen; but *Corinæus*, eager to pursue the flying enemy, advanced so far before his followers, that the fugitives returned to slay him—

> There he alone against them all, and they
> Against him one, with all their force did fight:

He achieved prodigies of valour, until Brutus coming up with a fresh troop, ended the strife: the French host were wholly discomfited, and nearly all destroyed by the victorious Trojans. Turon, the valiant nephew of Brutus, was slain in this battle, and being buried on the spot, gave name to the city of Tours, which the Trojans built to vex the French; but their force being much weakened by their successes, Brutus and Corinæus set sail once more, and arrived at Totness in Devonshire, in the island of Albion.

> Those mightie people borne of giants brood
> That did possesse this ocean-bounded land,
> They did subdue, who oft in battell stood
> Gainst them in field, untill by force of hand
> They were made subject unto Brute's command;
> Such boldness then did in the Briton dwell,
> That they in deeds of valour did excell,

Unable to cope with these experienced warriors none escaped,

> Save certain giants whom they did pursue,
> Which straight to caves in mountaines did them get.
> So fine were woods, and floods, and fountaines set
> So cleare the aire, so temperate the clime,
> They never saw the like before that time.

Perceiving that this was the country, denoted by the oracle, wherein they were to settle, Brutus divided the island among his followers, which with reference to his own name he called Britain.

> To Corinæus gave he, frank and free,
> The land of Cornwall for his service done,
> And for because from giants he it won.

Corinæus was the better pleased with this allotment, inasmuch as he had been used to warfare with such terrible personages. The employment he liked fell afterwards to his lot. For, as on the sea-coast of Cornwall, Brutus was accustomed to keep a peaceable anniversary of his landing, so on a certain day, being one of these festivals, a band of the old giants made their appearance, and suddenly breaking in upon the mirth and rejoicings, began another sort of amusement than at such a meeting was expected. The Trojans seized their arms, and a desperate battle was fought, wherein the giants were all destroyed, save *Goemagog*, the hugest among them, who being in height twelve cubits, was reserved alive, that *Corinæus* might try his strength with him in single combat. Corinæus desired nothing more than such a match, but the old giant in a wrestle caught him aloft and broke three of his ribs. Upon this Corinæus being desperately enraged, collected all his strength, heaved up Goemagog by main force, and bearing him on his shoulders to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, which has been ever since called Lap-Goemagog, that is to say, the Giant's Leap. Thus perished Goemagog, commonly called Gogmagog, the last of the giants. Brutus afterwards built a city in a chosen spot, and called it Troja Nova, which changed in time to

Trinovantum, and is now called London. An ancient writer records these achievements in Britain to have been performed at the time when Eli was the high-priest in Judea.[a]

Mr. Archdeacon Nares in his Glossary, corroborates the Gigantick Historian's supposition concerning the personages that the Guildhall statues represent, by a quotation from the undermentioned work, of some old verses printed on a broad sheet, 1660:

> And such stout *Coronæus* was, from whom
> Cornwall's first honor, and her name doth come.
> For though he sheweth not so great nor tall,
> In his dimensions set forth at *Guildhall*,
> Know 'tis a poet only can define
> A gyant's posture in a gyant's line.
> * * * * *
> And thus attended by his direful dog,
> The gyant was (God bless us) *Gogmagog*.
>
> *British Bibliogr.* iv. p. 277.

The author of the Gigantick History supposes, that as 'Corinæus and Gogmagog were two brave giants, who nicely valued their honour, and exerted their whole strength and force in defence of their liberty and country; so the city of London, by placing these their representatives in their Guildhall, emblematically declare, that they will, like mighty giants, defend the honour of their country and liberties of this their city, which excels all others, as much as those huge giants exceed in stature the common bulk of mankind.' Each of these Giants, as they now stand, measures upwards of fourteen feet in height: the young one is believed to be Corinæus, and the old one Gog-magog.

Such being the chief particulars respecting these enormous carvings, the terror of the children, the wonder of the 'prentices, and the talk of the multitude of former days, I close the

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[a] This account of Corinæus and Gogmagog, is chiefly extracted from *Milton's Early History of Britain*, b. i. and the *Mirrour for Magistrates*. Each of these works deriving most of the facts related from Jeffery of Monmouth.

subject, satisfied with having authenticated their origin. In order to perpetuate their appearance, they are drawn and etched by Mr. George Cruikshank, whose extraordinary talents have been happily exercised on my more original fancies. As this may be the last time that I shall ever write Mr. Cruikshank's name for the press, I cannot but express my astonishment, that a pencil which commands the admiration of every individual qualified to appreciate art, should be disregarded by that class, whose omission to secure it in their service, is a remarkable instance of disregard to their own interests as the midwives of literature.

And here, Reader, must end our desultory intercourse on these affairs. It has not been conducted on my part so well as it might, had time and circumstances permitted me to completely avail myself of the few facilities in my power. 'Thou wilt, may be, not thank me for what I have done, and complain of me for having left so much undone. All this I do believe thou mayest do justly; but thou wilt be my witness that I have been at some trouble. In short, if thou ever wert an editor of such books, thou wilt have some compassion on my failings, being sensible of the toil of such sort of creatures; and if thou art not yet an editor, I beg truce of thee till thou art one, before thou censurest my endeavours.'

FAREWELL!

ADDENDA.

'Let it be book'd with the rest.' *Shakspeare.*

THE present note is composed of a few scraps, selected from a parcel thrown into the fire. This saving regard, with the miscellaneousness of the preceding sheets, and a desire to keep the press going while the plate of the Fools' Morris Dance was in preparation, are the real occasion and only apology for more last words.

Brief notice of De Partu Virginis, a Poem, by Sannazarius—Triumph of Death, a Carnival Pageant, by Pietro de Cosimo—Hell Torments on the Arno—Harmony and Flagellation of the Order of St. Philip Neri—St. Macarius and his Flea—Natives of Strood in Kent born with tails—Strange licence to a book—Ribera and Lessius on the dimensions of Hell—Our Lady of Carmel's confraternity—St. Ignatius's Vision of the Trinity—Picture of it by Rubens—Origin of the letters I H S *in Churches—The Triangle, an emblem of the Trinity—Rammohun Roy's refution of it—Beehive of the Romish Church—Catholic allegory of Bells—The Ringer's Guide—Satan and the Soul—All for Money.*

SANNAZARIUS, born at Naples in 1458, ranks with Vida and Fracastorius, as the first of the Latin poets among the Italians, chiefly on account of a poem called *De Partu Virginis*. It took him several years to compose, and twenty years to revise; and to commemorate the subject he founded a church, and dedicated it '*Al Santissima Parto della Gran Madre di Dio.*' The poem is particularly described in a *Prefatory Discourse to a new Edition of the Psalms of David; translated into Latin verse, by* Dr. Arthur Jonston, Physician to King Charles I. (London, 1741, 8vo.) Whence it appears that Sannazarius introduces highly dramatic scenes from the New Testament Apocrypha, with classical

machinery; and produces anachronisms strikingly similar to the same incongruity in the representation of the *Feast of the Ass*. It is wonderful that with pretension to taste he could have penned so extraordinary a production. Making the virgin, in astonishment at the annunciation, become pale and look down upon the ground, he compares her surprise to that of a poor damsel, who, seeing a ship under sail coming towards her, whilst she is gathering cockles on the sea-shore with her petticoats tucked up, is in such confusion that she neither lets down her petticoats, nor runs to her companions, but trembles in silence, and is immoveable with fear. After the conception, Fame descends to the infernal regions to inform the inhabitants of the approaching birth, and to acquaint them that they are to leave Tartarus and Acheron, and the howling and barking of the three-backed dog. This occasions great joy among the blessed spirits, and David being inspired to sing, has a prophetic vision, after relating which the blessed shout for joy, and carry David on their shoulders along the bank of the river. At this the Furies are troubled, and Cerberus being frightened, frightens the damned with his terrible howling, and hides his black tail between his legs. Mary's delivery takes place in a *cave*, according to the legend of the *Protevangelion*, xii. 14, xiv. 4, &c. in the *Apoc. N. Test.* She wraps up the child and puts him into her bosom, the cattle cherish him with their breath, an ox falls on his knees, and an ass does the same. The poet declaring them both happy, after many commendations, promises they shall be honoured at all the altars in Rome, and apostrophizes the virgin on occasion of the respect the ox and ass have shewn her. This introduction of the ox and the ass warming the infant in the crib, with their breath, is a fanciful construction by catholic writers on Isaiah, i. 3, '*The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib*:' in engravings they are so represented to the present day, as may be seen by reference to rude wood-cuts attached to Christmas carols. After relating the particulars of the virgin's delivery, the poet makes God assemble the angels, while he sits on a throne with a large garment flying over his shoulders, which Nature watching day and night had woven for him:

'Quam quondam, ut perhibent, vigilans noctesque diesque,
Ipsa suo nevit rerum Natura Tonanti.' b. iii. v. 19, 20.

Amongst other things represented upon this garment, are the shapeless clay out of which the human race arose, birds flying through the air, beasts wandering in the woods, fishes swimming in the sea, and the sea itself foaming. God, in his speech to the angels, recommends them to be favourable to mankind, and calls a female to him, named Lætitia, who happened at that time not to be employed in dancing.

'——— Lætitiam choreis tum forte vacantem
Advocat.' v. 93, 94.

He sends her with her train to earth, to give notice of Christ's birth to the shepherds. She tells them to go and see a queen rocking a cradle, and a king in straw, and vanishes with her train. The astonished shepherds cannot imagine what royal persons they are to inquire for, and wander over the heath all night, till at last they discover the *cave* by the braying of the ass. In a trans-

port of joy they pull up a vast laurel, a huge palm, and olive trees by the roots, and planting them round the cave, sing and dance, and make various kinds of melody. Joseph looks out of the *cave*, and asks what they are doing? Informing him by what means they were sent thither, all of them shake hands, and go into the *cave* together, where they sing about forty lines, almost entirely from Virgil's pastorals. Angels then begin skirmishing in the clouds, and bring a crown of thorns, with nails, singing all the time. At this juncture, accidentally, Jordan, the azure king, is revolving things to come. Surrounded by his beautiful daughters, Glauce, Doto, Proto, and others, he is chiefly employed in noticing several figures engraven upon his urn, though ignorant of their meaning, when on a sudden, he sees new springs break out, and perceives the taste of his river to be changed. Putting his head out of the water, he discovers the banks all covered with flowers, and hears the shepherds and the angels shouting, and declaring that a God was come amongst them. Upon this, Jordan lifts up his hands to heaven, and relates all the miracles of Christ, which he says he had been informed of by Proteus. At the conclusion of his speech, he flings about his shoulders the garment which the beautiful nymphs of the streams formerly wove for him in their humid caves; and finally, plunging himself into the river, the fable ends.

Italy, the birth-place of Sannazarius, the land of classic achievement in ancient times, and of superstitious fable and ceremony in after times, presented to christian poets and dramatists a rich and various harvest. From thence they supplied constant amusement to the lovers of the marvellous; if it were seldom selected with elegance, this is rather ascribable to the restrictions prescribed by the sumptuary laws of spiritual domination, than to want of fancy in the purveyors for public entertainment.

It is already noticed (at p. 192, ante) that from the Fathers of the Oratory, at Rome, proceeded the performances called *Oratorios*. The rules of this religious order savor of no small severity. By the *Institutions of the Oratory* (printed at Oxford, 1687, 8vo. p. 49) they are required to mix corporal punishments with their religious harmony: 'From the first of November to the feast of the Resurrection, their contemplation of celestial things shall be heightened by a consort of music; and it is also enjoined, that at certain seasons of frequent occurrence, they all whip themselves in the oratory. And the custom is, that after half an hour's mental prayer, the officers distribute whips made of small cords full of knots, put forth the children, if there be any, and carefully shutting the doors and windows, extinguish the other lights, except only a small candle so placed in a dark lanthorn upon the altar, that the crucifix may appear clear and visible but not reflecting any light, thus making all the room dark: then the priest in a loud and doleful voice, pronounceth the verse *Jube Domine benedicere*, and going through an appointed service, comes *Apprehendite disciplinam*, &c.; at which words, taking their whips, they scourge their naked bodies during the recital of the 50th Psalm, *Miserere*, and the 129th, *De profundis*, with several prayers; at the conclusion of which, upon a sign given, they end their whipping, and put on their clothes in the dark and in silence.' The *Golden Legend* relates an anecdote of St. Macarius, which must impress every one with certainty, that had the Saint lived so late, and been honoured by admission into the order of the Oratory, he would have practised

its rules. 'It happed on a tyme that he kylled a flee that bote hym; and whan he sawe the blode of this flee, he repented hym, and anone unclothed hym, and wente naked in the deserte vi. monethes, and suffred hymselfe to be byten of flyes.' But the same authority exemplifies the fact, that saints are not alike forbearing; for the apostle of England, St. Austin, came to a certain town, inhabited by wicked people, who 'refused hys doctryne and preching utterly, and drof hym out of the towne, castyng on hym the tayles of thornback, or lyke fysshes; wherefore he besought Almyghty God to shewe hys jugement on them; and God sent to them a shamefull token; for the chyldren that were born after in the place, had tayles, as it is sayd, tyll they had repented them. It is said comynly that this fyll at Strode in Kente; but blyssyd be Gode, at thys daye is no such deformyte.'

Religious plays are shewn (at p. 169, ante) to have been common in Italy during the thirteenth century, where spiritual shows of all sorts were set forth in almost every possible form. Sir John Hawkins, (*History of Music*, iii. 448,) from Felibien, has given an account of a spectacle, invented and exhibited at Florence in the year 1510, by Pietro Cosimo, the painter, which Hawkins terms the most whimsical and at the same time the most terrifying that imagination can conceive. 'Having taken a resolution to exhibit this extraordinary spectacle at the approaching carnival, Cosimo shut himself up in a great hall, and there disposed so secretly every thing for the execution of his design, that no one had the least suspicion of what he was about. In the evening of a certain day in the carnival season, there appeared in one of the chief streets of the city a chariot painted black, with white crosses and dead men's bones, drawn by six buffaloes; and upon the end of the pole stood the figure of an angel with the attributes of Death, and holding a long trumpet in his hands, which he sounded in a shrill and mournful tone, as if to awaken and raise the dead: upon the top of the chariot sat a figure with a scythe in its hand, representing Death, having under his feet many graves, from which appeared, half way out, the bare bones of carcases. A great number of attendants, clothed in black and white, masked with Death's heads, marched before and behind the chariot, bearing torches, which enlightened it at distances so well chosen, that every thing seemed natural. There were heard as they marched, muffled trumpets, whose hoarse and doleful sounds served as a signal for the procession to stop. Then the sepulchres were seen to open, out of which proceeded, as by resurrection, bodies resembling skeletons, who sung in a sad and melancholy tone, airs suitable to the subject, as *Dolor pianto e Penitenza*, and others, composed with all that art and invention which the Italian music is capable of; while the procession stopped in the public place, the musicians sung with a continued and tremulous voice, the psalm *Miserere*, accompanied with instruments covered with crape, to render their sounds more dismal. The chariot was followed by many persons habited like corpses, and mounted upon the leanest horses that could be found, spread with black housings, having white crosses and death's heads painted at the four corners. Each of the riders had four persons to attend, habited in shrouds like the dead, each with a torch in one hand, and a standard of black taffeta, painted with white crosses, bones, and death's heads in the other. In short, all that horror can imagine most affecting at the resurrection of the dead, was represented at this masquerade, which was intended to repre-

sent the *Triumph of Death*. A spectacle so sad and mournful struck a damp through Florence; and, although in a time of festivity, made penitents of some, while others admiring the ingenious manner in which every thing was conducted, praised the whim of the inventor, and the execution of a concert so suitable to the occasion.' Appalling as this exhibition undoubtedly was, yet its terrors must have been exceeded by one in the same city, from whence Hawkins supposes that Cosimo's was taken. This was the performance of the *Torments of the Damned*, at the festival of the 1st of May, 1304, when, according to Sismondi, the bed of the river Arno was transformed into a representation of the Gulph of Hell, and all the variety of suffering that the imagination of monks or of the poet had invented, were inflicted, by streams of boiling pitch, flames, ice, and serpents, on real persons, whose cries and groans rendered the horrors of the scene complete.

Few subjects have exercised curiosity to greater extent than Hell. The author of the *Discovery of a world in the Moon*, (1638, 12mo. p. 201.) relates that Francis Ribera, in his Commentary on a passage in the *Revelations*, (xiv. 20,) which says that *the blood came out of the wine-press even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs*, interprets this number to be meant of Hell, and as expressive of its concavity, which he reckons at two hundred Italian miles; but Lessius (*De Morib.* l. xiii. c. 24,) thinks that this opinion gives them too much room in Hell, and therefore he guesses that it is not so wide; for (saith he) the diameter of one league being cubically multiplied, will make a sphere capable of containing eight hundred thousand millions of damned bodies, allowing to each six feet in the square, whereas, says he, it is certain that there shall not be one hundred thousand millions in all that shall be damned.' The *Golden Legend*, allegorises the cross to be a wine-press, 'in suche wyse that the blood of Christ sprang oute; but our champyon fought soo strongly and defowled the pressour soo foule, that he brake the bondes of synne and ascended into heaven; and after thys he opened the taverne of heven and poured out the wine of the holy goost.' Nearly akin to these representations and speculations, are the miraculous stories that formerly obtained credence. A tract, printed at Douay, in 1626, called *Jardinet des Délices Célestes; la plus revelée* par N. S. Jesus *à Saincte Gertrude*, bears the approbation '*par nostre Sauveur mesme*,' who says: 'All which is in this book is agreeable to me, and full of the ineffable softness of my holy love, from which, as from a fountain, all is drawn that is here written. All that is in this book is composed, arranged, and written by me, I using the hands of others, according to my good will and pleasure.'

Such were the inventions that created and gratified the craving of bigotted ignorance not two centuries ago. Indeed we find the most illustrious devotees practising the grossest follies and propagating the silliest tales to effect their purposes. If in our days the supply is smaller, it is because dotard faith is less; yet *A Short Treatise of the Antiquity, Privileges, &c. of the Confraternity of our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel*, (London, 1796, 18mo.) revives many absurd tales, apparently with the hope that they may persuade its readers to become brethren of our Lady of Carmel. It states that 'Good Christians have so great an esteem for religious Sodalities, that they are every where in Catholic countries most generally frequented; some en-

rolling themselves in the confraternity of the MOST BLESSED TRINITY, others in that of the Rosary, &c.' Referring to the treatise itself for an enumeration of miracles and influences which no rational person would imagine could now be cited as inducements to such a purpose, it is amusing to turn to the *Life of St. Ignatius* (by Father Bouhours, London, 1686, 8vo. p. 81.) for a *Vision of the Trinity*, which the biographer states that the Founder of the Jesuits was favoured with. 'One day, in a most lively manner there was represented to him the mystery of the Holy Trinity.' Going afterwards in a solemn procession, 'all his thoughts were upon that mystery; he could not speak but of the Trinity, but he spoke so that the most learned admired him, and the most ignorant were instructed by him.' He wrote down his conceptions on no less than fourscore leaves, since lost.' A splendid picture from the pencil of Rubens, now in Warwick Castle, represents the Jesuit in his rapture, contemplating this mystery. His uplifted eyes are fixed on the letters I. H. S. blazing in the centre of a flame of fire. Yet these letters, which are still placed on the pulpits and altar-pieces of Protestant churches, denote neither Trinity nor Unity, but only exemplify the ignorance and mistake of manuscript-writers in the early ages. This is shewn by Mr. Casley, in his preface to the *Catalogue of the King's MSS.* (p. xxiii). He says that 'in *Latin* MSS. the *Greek* letters of the word Christus, as also Jesus, are always retained, except that the terminations are changed according to the Latin language. Jesus is written I $\overline{\text{H}}$ S, or in small characters i $\overline{\text{h}}$ s, which is the Greek ΙΗΣ, or ι η σ, an abbreviation of ιησους. However, the scribes knew nothing of this for a thousand years before the invention of printing; for, if they had, they would not have written i $\overline{\text{h}}$ s, for ιησους; but they ignorantly copied, after one another, such letters as they found put for those two words: nay, at length they pretended to find *Jesus Hominum Salvator* comprehended in the word I $\overline{\text{H}}$ S; which is another proof that they took the middle letter to be *h* not *n*.' The dash also over the word which is a sign of abbreviation, some have changed to the sign of the cross. I had observed more on this subject, but within the present year these letters have been constellated on the altar-piece of the church belonging to the parish wherein I reside; and desiring to owe nothing but good will to my neighbours, I suppress further remark, lest some of them may suppose that I design to reflect in an unfriendly way on a circumstance wherein, as to intention, they have unknowingly erred. The corruption of the note of abbreviation mentioned by Casley is common to Catholic books and in old prints, very frequently with the addition, beneath the letters, of the three nails of the cross, diverging from the points in a fan-like form. That there were *four* nails was maintained at one time, from a supposition that each foot was separately nailed, instead of both feet being transfixed by one nail; but as, by the latter mode, the disposition of the limbs looks better to the eye, the best painters decide in its favor, while the number, three, has rendered it convenient as an emblem of the Trinity.

The symbol denoting the coequality of persons in the Trinity by an equilateral triangle, has of late years been converted into a triangle, of which only two sides being equal, the third side is consequently unequal. This forms the base of a triangle consisting of one perfect rectangle and two acute angles, and by a strange confusion, the second person of the Trinity, already supposed to be comprehended in the figure of a triangle, is here superadded in the form

of a dove hovering beneath the base, with a circle of effulgent rays comprehending the whole. Vast numbers of prayer-books now in use are stamped in gold on the covers, with this senseless device. Indeed the incorrectness of the perfect Triangle as a symbol, is demonstrated by the celebrated Brahmin, Rammohun Roy, who having upon deliberate conviction, become a Christian, has published *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness*, (London, 1823; 8vo. p. 306.) which contains the refutation alluded to, says that 'The analogy between the Godhead and a triangle, in the first instance, denies to God any real existence; for extension of all kinds, abstracted from position or relative situation, exists only in idea. Secondly, it destroys the unity attempted to be established between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for the three sides of a triangle are conceived of as separate existences. Thirdly, it denies to each of the three persons of God, the epithet *God*, inasmuch as each side cannot be designated a triangle, though the Father of the universe is invariably called God in the strict sense of the term.' Then he shows that the manner of arguing by a mathematical figure, is adapted to support the polytheism of the Hindoos, and would in fact, 'equally suit the Atheist; for as the Trinity is represented by the three sides of a triangle, so the eternal revolution of nature without any divine person, may be compared to the circle, which is considered as having no sides or angles; or which, when considered as a polygon, having an infinite number of sides, the illustration of the Trinitarian doctrine by the form of the triangle, will by analogy, justify those sects who maintain the existence of an infinite number of persons in the Godhead,' &c.

By allegory and symbol, the papacy ensnared the ignorant. The author of the *Beehive of the Romish Church*, says, in defence of his title, that 'our dear and loving mother, the holie Church of Rome, ought not to scorne or disdaine, that wee doe compare her customs and orders to a *Beehive*, considering that she herselfe doth compare the incomprehensible generation of the Sonne of God from his father, together with his birth out of the pure and undefiled Virgine Marie, unto the *Bees*: which were in verie deede a great blasphemie, if the bees were not of so great valour and virtue, that by them wee might liken and compare the holie church of Rome. And seeing, she saith, that God is delighted with the giftes and presentes of the bees, why should not shee herselfe exceedinglie rejoyce with our *Bee Hive?*' Two curious designs on wood, inserted in this book represent the papal crown as a hive. Bees with shaven heads, mitres, cardinals' hats, &c. are flying around it, engaged in shriving, burying, saying mass, &c. A similar representation nearly occupies the title page of the Dutch translation printed in 1576. Without the explanation already given, it might be supposed, the title was from a story related in *Stodford's Ways of Rome's advancement*, (1675, 8vo. p. 107): 'A woman's bees not thriving, by the advice of a neighbour, she steals a consecrated wafer, and placeth it in one of her hives, hoping it would drive away the disease and bless their undertakings. The devout bees in honour of such a guest, fall to work, and with their honeycombs make a pretty little church, with windows, a door, a belfry, yea, and an altar too, upon which they laid the Host, and pay'd great reverence to it.'

The worship of the Romish Church consists of allegory, symbol, and dramatic exhibition. Specimens of allegory are already in these sheets; but the contem-

plations of the Catholics in this way, are to an extent that modern Protestants can scarcely conceive. For instance; the ancients at the feasts of Minerva and Vulcan, consecrated Trumpets for religious uses, especially as antidotes against demons, thunder, storms, &c. To the same end, the Catholics baptize *Bells*, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and dedicate them to saints, using holy water, holy oil, incense, and prayers, in the ceremony; and according to the missal of Salisbury use, there were godfathers and godmothers to the bells, who gave them their names. Durandus, the great Catholic authority for the mysterious services of his church, explains the allegorical signification of bells after their baptism. He says, (*Ration. Divin. Offic.* lib. i. cap. 4.) that bells being made of brass, and being therefore more shrill than the trumpets under the law, denote that God was then known to the Jews only, but now to all the world: that, as they are more durable, they signify that the preaching of the New Testament endures longer than the Jewish trumpets and sacrifices, even unto the end of time, and that they represent preachers which call men to the faith. The bell denotes the preacher's mouth, according to the words of St. Paul, *I am become as sounding brass*, &c.; the hardness of its metal implies the fortitude of the preacher's mind, according to the passage, *I have given thee a forehead more hard than their forehead.* The clapper sounding the bell by striking on both sides, denotes the preacher's tongue publishing both the Testaments, and that the preacher should on one side correct vice in himself, and on the other side, reprove it in his hearers. The hand that ties the clapper, denotes the moderation of the tongue; the wood on which the bell hangs, signifies the wood of the cross; the iron that ties it to the wood, denotes the charity of the preacher, who being inseparably connected with the cross, exclaims, '*Far be it from me to glory, except in the cross of our Lord.*' The wheel that puts the bell in motion, signifies the preacher's mind, which connected with the divine law, passeth it upon the people by constant preaching. The bell-rope denotes the humility of the preacher's life. The rope tied to the wood wherein the bell hangs, signifies that the scripture descendeth from the wood of the cross. The rope being formed of three cords, denotes that the scripture consisteth of a Trinity, viz. History, Allegory, and Morality: the descent of the rope from the wood to the hand, signifies the descent of scripture from the mystery of the cross in the preacher's mouth, and that it comes to his hand, because the scripture should produce good works. The upward and downward motion of the rope, denotes that the scripture sometimes speaks of high, and at other times of low matters, sometimes mysteriously, and at other times, plainly. Again, the downward motion, signifies the preacher's descent from contemplation to action; the upward motion, when the scripture is exalted in contemplation; also the downward motion, signifies the scripture when it is expounded literally; and the upward motion, when it is exponnded spiritually.

A specimen is at hand of an attempt from another quarter to spiritualize *Bells*. In 1804, a tract was published, entitled, '*The Ringer's true Guide*, containing a safe Directory for every true Churchman; or an affectionate address to Ringers in every Church and Parish; By S. Beaufoy': (12mo. p. 24). Mr. Beaufoy, seeing that 'on a moderate calculation, we have more than seventy thousand ringers,' addresses them thus: 'If thou, reader, art a ringer,

thou hast an active part in the church, and thou shouldest be careful to perform thy part with holy propriety.' He explains how:—'thou shouldest pray that thou mayest always fill thy office as God exhorts in his holy word, when he says, *Whatsoever ye do, do* ALL *to the Glory of God*, (1 Cor. x. 31). Hence it appears, that whenever thou art employed in ringing, thou shouldest ring to the glory of God.—I recommend to thy most serious consideration: 1st. What are the most material ends to be answered, by ringing? 2dly. I would excite thee to examine whether thou hast practised ringing with a view to these important ends.' This, Mr. Beaumont attempts with more of good purpose than judgment. To what extent his piece is popular among the seventy thousand practitioners in 'tintinnabulary clatter,' experience does not enable me to say.

Allied to allegory were such old spiritualizing romances as the *Pilgremage of the Sowle*, before alluded to (at p. 122) as pregnant 'with beauties that delighted our forefathers.' The author of that work, as afterwards old John Bunyan, delivers himself under the similitude of a dream, which, he says, befell him on a St. Laurence' night sleeping in his bed. He thought that he was travelling towards the City of Jerusalem, when Death struck his Body and Soul asunder; whereupon the foul and horrible *Sathanas* comes towards the *Soul*, which being in great terror, its Warden or Guardian Angel desires Sathanas to flee away and not meddle with it. Satan refuses, alleging that God had permitted that no Soul which had done wrong should, on its passage, escape from being 'snarlyd in his trappe;' and he says, that the Guardian Angel well knows that he, the warden, could never withdraw the Soul from evil or induce it to follow his good counsel; and that even if he had, the Soul would not have thanked him for it; he therefore does not know why the Angel should interfere, and begs he would let him alone to do with the Soul what he had a right to do, and could not be prevented from doing. The parley continues, until they agree to carry the Soul before *Michael*, the provost of heaven, and abide his award on Satan's claim. The Soul was then lifted between them both into the transparent air, wherein the spirits of the newly dead were passing thickly on every side, to and fro, as motes flitting in the sun-beam. They tarried not until they arrived at a marvellous place of bright fire, shining with a brilliant light, surrounded by a great multitude of Souls attending there for a like purpose. The Guardian Angel entered, leaving Satan without, and also the Soul, who could hear the voice of his warden speaking in his behalf, and acquainting Michael that he had brought from earth a pilgrim, who was without, and with him old Satan his accuser, abiding judgment. Then Satan began to cry out and said, 'of right he is mine, and that I shall prove; wherefore deliver him to me by judgment, for I abide nought else.' This caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet in these words:—'All ye that are without, awaiting your judgment, present yourselves before the Provost to receive your doom; but first ye that have longest waited, and especially those that have no great matter and are not much troubled; for the plain and light causes shall first be determined, and then other matters that need greater tarrying.'—This proclamation greatly disturbed the souls without. Satan and his evil spirits were most especially angry, and holding a consultation, he spoke as follows: 'It appears we are of little consequence, and hence our wicked neighbours do us injustice. These wardens hinder us from our purposes, and we

are without favour. There is no caitiff pilgrim but hath had a warden assigned him from his birth, to attend him and defend him at all times from our hands, and especially from the time that he washed in the 'salt lye,' ordained by *Grace de Dieu*, who hath ever been our enemy; and then they are taken, as soon as these wardens come, before the provost, and have audience at their own pleasure; while we are kept here without, as mere ribalds. Let us cry out *a'rowe* [*haro*], and *out* upon them all! they have done us wrong; and we will speak so loud that in spite of them they shall hear us.' Then Satan and his spirits cried out all at once, 'Michael! Provost, Lieutenant, and Commissary of the high Judge! do us right, without exception or favour of any party. You know very well that in every upright court the prosecutor is admitted to make his accusation and propose his petition; but you first admit the defendant to make his excusation. This manner of judging is suspicious; for were these pilgrims innocent, yet, if reason were to be heard, and right were to prevail, the accusers would have the first hearing to say what they would, and then the defendants after them, to excuse themselves if they could: we, then, being the prosecutors, hear us first, and then the defendants.'—After Satan's complaint, the Soul heard within the curtain, 'a longe parlament;' and, at the last, there was another proclamation ordered by sound of trumpet as follows:—'All ye that are accustomed to come to our judgments, to hear and to see, as assessors, that right be performed, come forth immediately and take your seats; ye well knowing your own assigned places. Ye also that are without, waiting the sitting of the court, present yourselves forthwith to the judgment thereof, in order as ye shall be called; so that no one hinder another, or interrupt another's discourse. Ye pilgrims approach the entrance of this curtain, awaiting without; and your wardens, because they are our equals, belonging to our company, are to appear, as of right they ought, within our presence.' After this proclamation was observed, the Guardian Angel said—'Provost Michael! I here present to you this pilgrim, committed to my care in the world below: he has kept his faith to the last, and ought to be received into the heavenly Jerusalem, whereto his body hath long been travelling.'—Satan answered—'Michael! attend to my word and I shall tell you another tale.' He urged that the Soul, after baptism, on arriving at mature age, defiled himself by sin. 'It is written,' says Satan, 'in the midst of his visage, read it who that will. There ye may see the shame and confusion which he hath wilfully wrapped himself in. By that I ask judgment that he be delivered to me.' Satan then enumerated the Soul's various sins, and asked 'who is it that ought, or may, or dare excuse him? I ask no other witness but he that hath always been next of his counsel, his own *Conscience*, who dare not, nor will not lie in the matter: he is mine by right; in heaven hath he nought; let him therefore be delivered to me that I may go hence forthwith.' The Soul then relates, that in great dread and heaviness he knew not what to do or say, but when he saw his warden remain silent, he was in still greater dread. He said to me then, says the Soul, that 'I must answer for myself to the accusation, and if I could defend myself I had the right to do so, but if I could not or durst not in my own person, I must get some advocate to speak for me. But I well knew that advocates are not willing to plead any man's cause without it is a just one, or else that they hope to be rewarded after; and for so poor a man as I, there would no advocate plead without being paid before hand for

pleaders in worldly courts have tongues like to the languet of the balance that draweth him away to the party that will give the best reward.' Nevertheless the advocates of heaven were of another kind, and ready to speak for the Soul; yet he still thought, that as he 'was poor, and had nothing to give an advocate, and had no acquaintance with any saint,' he had better defend himself. He commences, however, by complaining, that he who is now his accuser was his seducer. He suggests that if he had been a sinner he ought not to have been suffered to go on so long. He affirms that he has no wisdom to demean himself, and appeals to Charity, to Jesus, to the Virgin Mary, and to all the saints against his enemy, who, while he was in the flesh, by deceits and frauds, drove him to misdoing. Then, *Justice* spoke to the following effect:—'Sir Judge! Repentance and petition is now useless; nor can any advocate plead here who is not from the earth below; and it is against the law and custom of the court to attempt to excite and stir favor to himself. The soul had leisure in his lifetime to have prayed, and obtained procurators to promote his interests, but now it is too late.' Proclamation was accordingly made thus:—'The manner and usage of the Court is, that the pilgrim answer for himself personally, and plainly give account of his journey, and other plea nor process ought not to be heard nor admitted in this place.' The soul thus pressed, endeavoured to defend himself in the best manner he could. He began by tendering exceptions to Satan's proceedings:—that he ought not to answer the action brought against him by Satan and others, because they were infamous and condemned, and therefore driven from heaven; because Satan had always been the defendant's personal enemy, by pursuing, lying in wait, forestalling, spreading nets, arraying traps and setting other engines, to take and deceive him. Further, he alleged that Satan was not a proper person to prosecute the action, he being eternally condemned, and therefore could not answer to the soul for the wrong done him, if the action were disallowed; and, lastly, he alleged that it was well known that Satan was then, and ever had been, an open liar, the author of all falsehood, and untruth, and always ready to do and say the worst. To these exceptions Satan answered to nearly as follows: that the manner and custom of heaven is not the same as upon earth; that he had seizin of accusement in as much as the Court had accepted his accusation: that when he was kept standing without, the soul did not then except: that although, true it was, that if the action were avoided, that he personally could not be heard by reason of his insufficiency, yet there was one who could in no way be excepted to, and who knew the soul's inmost thoughts. Where upon Satan called *Synderesys* to testify the truth. The soul's description of this witness is very curious:—'Then came forth by me an old one, that long time had hid himself nigh me, which, before that time, I had not perceived. He was wonderfully hideous, and of cruel countenance; and he began to grin, and showed me his jaws and his gums, for teeth he had none, they being all broken and worn away. And when I espied him, I was full sore abashed. He was dreadfully loathsome and foul to look upon: he had no body, but, under his head, he had only a tail, which seemed the tail of a worm, of exceeding length and greatness. To me this loathsome beast began to speak, and said:—*I* am come to accuse thee. *I* am not accustomed to make fables, nor tell no gabbings, but I am believed of truth. I know well thy thoughts, thy deeds, and

thy words. Thou canst make no exception to *me;* and I shall be believed in this Court better than thee. Often have I warned thee in private, for thy own sake and advantage, of thy misconduct, both in thoughts and words; and so often bitten thee that all my teeth are wasted and broken; and yet thou hast been so obstinate, that no sore biting could turn thee from thy evil ways. And further, I counselled thee to go to the priest and shew him the hideousness of thy soul, which by keeping private is blemished and deformed, although that priest, upon thy disclosure, would have absolved thee.' The Soul inquiring of the witness who he is, receives for answer; 'I am the *Worm of Conscience;* for, like a worm, I am wont to bite and to wound them that wrong themselves.'— This specimen, modernized in orthography and style, shews that the curious piece from whence it is extracted, is not only pregnant with allegory, but is a theological parody upon proceedings in courts of law. It issued, as is elsewhere stated, from the press of Caxton, the first English printer, in the reign of Edward the Fifth.

One remark, in conclusion, concerning *Mysteries.* It seems pretty well agreed that the performance of these religious plays ceased about 1578. Subjoined is the title of a play, printed at London in that year, with the names of the characters. '*A moral and pitiful Comedie, intituled* ALL FOR MONEY; plainly representing the maners of men and fashion of the world now adayes. Compiled by T. LUPTON. The names of them that plaie this Comœdie. Theologie. Science. Arte. Money. Adulation. Mischievous helpe. Pleasure. Prest for pleasure. Sinne. Swifte to sinne. Damnation. Satan. Pryde. Gluttonie. Learning with Money. Learning without money. Money without Learning. All for Money. Neyther money nor learning. Moneyles and friendles. Gregorie graceles. Moneyles. William with the two wives. Nycholl. S. Laurence. Mother Crooke. Judas. Dives. Godly admonition. Vertue. Humilitie. Charitie.' Lupton's amalgam of mystery with morality was an accommodation to the general liking for the old performances. From about that period it is easy to trace the rapid improvement of popular taste, in the plays of successive authors, until Shakspeare, exploring the sources of human action, exemplified all possible varieties of character, and taught the philosophy of social life in his imperishable dramas.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Abyl, *enable.*
Agens, *to meet.*
Ageyn, *against.*
Algates, *always, nevertheless.*
Alosed, *reputed, charged with.*
Alwey, *always.*
Amys, *ill, badly, amiss.*
Antecer, *predecessor, forcrunner.*
Apayred, *injured.*
Arer, *raise.*
Aroint, arongt, *p.*188.
At, *of, from.*
Auerte, *avert.*
Auter, awter, *altar.*
Avyse, *advice, counsel.*

B.

Barrany, *barren.*
Barynes, *barrenness.*
Beforn, *before.*
Bemys, *rays.*
Ben, *be, entered.*
Benyson, *blessing.*
Ber', *bear.*
Bestad, *taken place, happened.*
Bestys, *beasts.*
Beteche, *recommend, require.*
Beth, *be.*
Bewte, *beauty.*
Blake, *black.*
Blawdyr, *scandal, disturbance.*
Bler', *darken, dim.*
Blythe, *blithe, merry.*
Bot, *but.*
Bote, *bit.*
Bow, *bough, bush.*
Bower, *a chamber, dwelling-place.*
Brake, '*bows of brake,*' p. 125—*steel;* at least, I have so presumed to supply the blank left by Dr. Whitaker. Authorities cited by Arch. Nares, in his Glossary, published since p. 125 was printed, seem to corroborate my notion.
Bren, *burn.*
Brenning, *burning.*
Brydde, *bird.*
Bryth, *bright.*
Busshop, *bishop.*
Boustous, lustouse, *sturdy, cumbrous.*
Buxhum, *obedient, gentle.*
Byddyng, *order, command.*
Byth, *but.*

C.

Catel, *goods, chattels.*
Cent, *scent.*
Chawmer, *chamber, dwelling.*
Cher, *cheer, comfort;* also *dear.*
Ches, *chose.*
Cheverell, *kid leather.*
Clene, *chaste, pure.*
Clennes, *chastity, purity.*
Clepid, clepyd, *called.*
Clowte, *beat.*
Cokwold, *cuckold.*
Comfyte, comyfte, *discomfited.*
Comyn, *come.*
Conceyte, *witty device.*
Conclusyon, *determination, judgment.*
Conserve, *preserve.*
Contekour, *a disturber, maker of strife.*
Cou'ed, *covered.*
Cowp, *cup.*
Credyl, *cradle.*
Cropyn, *crept.*
C'ste, *Christ.*
Curtana, *the blunt sword of mercy, used at coronations of kings of England.*
Cus, *kiss.*

D.

Dery's leder, *deer's leather, buckskin.*
Devyr, *endeavour, duty.*
Devyse, *grant.*
Deye, *die.*
Deyte, *deity.*
Dome, *doom, judgment.*
Dowter, *daughter.*
Drynge, *drink.*

Dwer, *door.*
Dylexcon, *dilection, loving kindness.*
Dyser's, *desires.*
Dysspice, *despise.*
Dyu's, *diverse.*

E.

Egee, *egg.*
Estre, Estres, *Easter.*
Estryge, *ostrich.*
Esyd, *eased.*
Ethe, *easy, willing.*
Every'ch, *each one, every.*
Eu'y, euyr, *every.*

F.

Famy't, *famished.*
Far', *fare.*
Faryn, *fearing.*
Feetly, *dexterously.*
Felacha'pp, *company, society.*
Felas, *fellows, companions.*
Fenestrallis, *in imitation of windows.*
Ffendys, *fiends.*
Fer, *far.*
Ferd, *fared.*
Fer', fere, *fellow, mate.*
Fet, *fetched.*
Fonde, *try, endeavour.*
For, *because.*
Ffortene, *fourteen.*
Ffyff, *five.*
Fylt, *filled.*

G.

Gaff, *gave.*
Giff, *if.*
Gites, *gowns.*
Gle, *mirth, music.*
Gon, *go, proceed.*
Goth, *go.*
Gramercy, (*grand mercie, fr.*) *great thanks.*
Grame, *anger, affliction.*
Gramyd, *angered, afflicted.*
Grees, Greeys, *steps, stairs.*
Grotte, *a groat.*
Gynne, *a snare, a trap.*
Gyff, *give;* also, *if.*
Gynnynge, *beginning.*

H.

Hane, *have.*
Haras, '*hous of haras,*' *p.* 68, *a resting-place for the fatigued?*
Harrowing of Hell; *the release of the souls and stripping of Hell by Christ.*
Haryed, *ransacked, pillaged, plundered.*
Hasardour, *a gamester.*
He, *ye, you.*
He', hem, *them.*
Hed, *head;* also *heed.*
Hefne, *heaven.*
Hele, *health.*
Hendyng, *end.*
Hent, *held, hold.*
Her', *hear,* and *here;* also *there.*
Herand, *errand.*
Hes, *has.*
Hese, *his;* also *these.*
Hesely, *easily.*
Hey, *high.*
Hir, *hire.*
Ho, *who.*
Ho so, *whoso.*
Hodys, *hoods.*
Houdis, *hands.*
Howe, *ought.*
Howyth, *ought.*
Hy, hyg, *high.*
Hyge, hie, *make haste.*
Hygth, *named.*
Hy'pne, *hymn.*
Hytte the pynne, *p.* 63, '*knocked the right nail on the head,*' *guessed aright.*

I.

Insampull, *example.*

J.

Jentyl, *gentle.*

K.

Kende, *known.*
Knowlyche, *acknowledge.*
Knyll, *knell.*
Kusse, *kiss.*
Ky, (kyke, *to look.*)

L.

Lave, *water.*
Lawhg, *laugh.*
Lemenyll, *limned, emblazoned.*
Lerne, *to teach.*
Lese, *lose, damage.*
Lett, *hinder.*
Lette, *p.* 42, *is probably a clerical error for* "telle," *tell.*
Levyn, *live, reside.*
Levyr, *rather.*
Lewd, *illiterate, ignorant.*
Logge, *p.* 68, *lodge.*
Loveday, *a day of reconciliation.*
Lowth, *bend, stoop.*
Lyberary, *library.*
Lyflode, *livelihood.*
Lyste, list, *desire, choice.*
Lythly, *gently, easily.*

M.

Maculation, *spot, stain of sin.*

Make, *mate, consort.*
Matrice, *womb.*
Ma'y, mayd'y', *maiden*; also a *bachelor.*
Maylys, *mail armour.*
Mayst', *master.*
Mede, *meed, reward.*
Mekyl, *much.*
Mȝle, *meddle, mix.*
Mende, *mind.*
Mene, *mine.*
Metelys, *p.* 228, *appropriately in character, meetly.*
Mevyd, *moved, stirred up.*
Modyr, *mother.*
Moty, *may, might.*
Mow, *may, must*; also *mouth.*
Muse, *think, imagine.*
Mys, a mys, *amiss.*
Mystyr, *mysterious, unknown.*
Myth, *might, lower.*

N.

Natt, *not.*
Ne, *neither.*
Ner, *near, nigh.*
Noke, nook, *corner.*
Non, *known.*
Nother, *neither.*
Nyn, *nor.*

O.

Oblocucyon, *obloquy, false report.*
On, *one.*
Onys, *once.*
Ower, *over.*
Owth, *aught, any thing.*
Owughte, *out, outright.*
Owyght, *ought.*

P.

Pace, *pass, hasten away.*
Pantofles, *slippers*; at *p.* 149, *high heeled shoes.*
Pardé, par Dieu, *a petty oath.*
Pardoner, *a licensed seller of papal pardons.*
Parfyte, *perfect.*
Parlement, *a conference, a council.*
Passage, *pregnancy.*
Pateyn, patten, *a dish for the chalice, in Church worship.*
Pawsac'on, *pause, delay.*
Pes, *peace.*
Pety enime, *a mean adversary, a slanderer.*
Pleand, *playing.*
Pleynge, *recreating.*
Pleyny', *complain.*
Powȝe, *power.*
Praty, *pretty.*
Prest, *priest.*
Prevydens, *providence.*
Pr'ogatyff, *prerogative.*
Prow, *honour, profit.*
P'stis, *priests.*
P'vyde, *p.* 40, a contraction for *purveyed?*
P'uyly, *privily.*
Pylg'mys, *pilgrims.*
Pyn, *pain.*
Pypys, *pipes.*

Q.

Qwedyr, *quiver, quake.*
Qwelle, *to destroy, to kill.*
Qwen, *queen.*
Qwer, *quire, choir.*
Qwyk, *quick, alive.*

R.

Rage, *wanton toying.*
Rape, *to be in haste.*
Reft, *bereft, taken away.*
Ren, *run.*
Repreve, *reproof.*
Reprevyd, *reproved.*
Rewlyd, *ruled.*
Roddys, *rods.*
Rowte, *a company.*
Ryff, *rife, common, openly.*
Ryghtwysnes, rytewisnes, *righteousness.*
Ryth, *right.*

S.

Sapyens, *wisdom.*
Sawe, saw, *an old saying.*
Sawys, *sayings.*
Sawter, *psalter.*
Scarfawst, *a scaffold.*
Schadu, *shadow.*
Schape, *p.* 65, *escape.*
Schapp, *shape.*
Schent, sheut, *hurt, spoiled, ruined.*
Schryve, shrive, *to confess.*
Schul, *shall.*
Sclepyr, *slippery.*
Se, see, *a province, a dominion.*
Sees, *cease.*
Sefne, *seven.*
Sekernedys, *p.* 67, *look out for work, seek support.*
Sekyr, *p.* 47, *as usual.*
Sekyrly, *p.* 68, *to seek them?*
Sen, *see.*
Ser', *sir.*
Serys, *sirs.*
Ses, *cease.*

Sesyd, *seised, possessed of.*
Sexte, *sixth.*
Seyd, *seed*; also *said.*
Seyden, *had said.*
Seyn, *seen, said, saying.*
Seyng, *saying.*
Shrewe, *to curse.*
Shullen, *should.*
Shyrle, *churl.*
Slynge, sling, *to hurl or throw.*
Sofreynes, sovereynes, *sovereigns.*
Somnor, *a summoner, an apparitor.*
Somowne, *summon.*
Sonde, *message, messenger.*
Songen, *sung.*
Sor'we, *sorrow.*
Sothfastnes, *truth.*
Sothly, *truly.*
Sowlen, *souls.* Alle Soulen day, *All Souls day.*
Sownde, *message.*
Sowte, *sought.*
Spowsage, *espousals.*
Spyllyth, *spoileth.*
Starkly, *strongly.*
Stere, *stir, to move.*
Stond, stonde, *stand.*
Stytelerys, p. 227?
Suster, *sister.*
Sustren, *sisters.*
Swinke, *labour.*
Swyche, *such.*
Sybbe, *a relative by blood.*
Syerge, *a wax-taper.*
Sygt, *sight, presence.*
Syse, *assize, judgment.*
Syth, p. 46, *time.*
Sythe, p. 46, *afterwards.*
Syttyht, *sitteth.*

T.

Take, p. 84, *show.*
Tast, p. 70, *feel.*
Tende, tend, *wait on.*
Tent, *attention, heed, warning.*
Thonking, *thanking.*
Thor', p. 41, *thorough*; also *therefore.*
Thor'we, *thourough.*
Thorwe outh, *throughout.*
Thretty, *thirty.*
Thrydde, *third.*
Thryste, *thirst.*
Thwyn, be thywn, *between.*
Thynkyht, *think, thought it.*
To, *too.*
To hyge, *too high.*
Tolle, *tell.*
Ton, *toes.*
Tow'r, p. 14, *heavenly rest.*
Trayne, *connection.*
Tribus, *tribe.*
Tron, *throne.*
Trowe, *think.*
Trowth, *truth, faith.*
Tweyn, *two.*
Tweyner's metyng, *the meeting of two.*

V.

Ve'geabyl, *revengeful.*
Verament, *verily, truly.*

U.

Unknowlage, *ignorance.*

W.

Wede, *apparel.*
Wend, *go.*
Wene, *think, guess, conjecture.*
Werd, werde, *world.*
Werkys, *works.*
Wers, *worse.*
Wete, *know, understand.*
Weten, *understood.*
Whyte, *white.*
Wis, wys, *know, imagine.*
Wole, *will.*
Wonyng, *dwelling-place.*
Wrank, p. 63, *wrong?*
Wrecchis, *wretches.*
Wurchepp, *worship.*
Wurdys, *words.*

X.

Xal, *shall.*

Y.

Y, *sometimes stands for th.*
Yardys, *rods, wands.*
Yer, *years.*
Yerd, yard, *a rod, a wand.*
Yettis, *gates.*
Yne, *eyes.*
Yturne, *changed, altered.*

Z.

Zynge, *young.*

END OF THE GLOSSARY.

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W. Hone.

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